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**THE IMPACT OF THE EVACUATION AND OCCUPATION EXPERIENCE,
1940-1945, ON THE LIVES AND RELATIONSHIPS OF GUERNSEY
CHILDREN AND GUERNSEY SOCIETY.**



BY

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ABSTRACT.

This research attempts to integrate psychology and history drawing in particular on narrative psychology and the life history interview supported by secondary source information and using the principles of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990) as the tool for analysis.

This thesis explores ways in which the evacuation and occupation of Guernsey during 1940-1945 impacted upon the lives and relationships of Guernsey children and Guernsey society.

The psychological perspective provided an insight into the way in which narrative is constructed and the significance of the role of story telling in creating history.

Memory was considered an important variable in this research and its influence has been discussed.

Analysis of data collected indicates that a new narrative has emerged which challenges the existing official narrative and that individuals who perceive themselves to be disadvantaged by a situation and perceive that others have benefited from the same situation will view the other negatively, especially if feelings are acted out in a climate of suspicion or blame.

Findings also presented evidence of many common features of the removal and separation experience of children from their homes and families. In a minority of cases the effects of separation were disabling and difficult to escape from unaided. For the majority it was a cathartic experience.

This research concludes that family relationships and dynamics were affected following the separation experience with father and child and sibling relationships experiencing the most damage. The presence of competent and resourceful substitute carers can and did provide a buffer against trauma.

This research has expanded and enriched the evacuation and occupation story by incorporating the previously unheard voice of those who were children and experienced that period of history.

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My thanks must go to Anne Perrio who very kindly gave up her time to type the forty interviewee profiles and the bibliography for me and then patiently checked all references against the bibliography with me.

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I would probably not have completed this thesis if it had not been for the unerring faith which Anne and my mother, Mavis Smith, have had in me. Their conviction that I could overcome my trials and tribulations and climb my Everest have at times been the inspiration I needed to continue with what frequently seemed to be an impossible task.

Finally I would like to offer this thesis in memory of my father, Ernest Wilfred Smith who as a child was evacuated from Guernsey to England in June 1940. It was following his premature death in 1993, that I realised how many questions I had about his life that could now never be answered by him and so my need to have a greater understanding of his experiences grew and this provided the inspiration for this thesis. I hope that he would be as proud of my efforts as I was and will always be of him.

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The atrocities of war have detrimental effects on the development and mental health of children that have been documented since World War II. To date, a considerable amount of knowledge about various aspects of this problem has been accumulated, including the ways in which trauma impacts on child mental health and development, as well as intervention techniques, and prevention methods. Considering the large populations of civilians that experience the trauma of war, it is time to review existing literature, summarise approaches for helping war-affected children, and suggest future directions for research and policy

(Barenbaum 2004 p4)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In this research I explore the ways in which the evacuation and occupation of Guernsey during 1940 to 1945 impacted upon the lives and relationships of Guernsey children and Guernsey society as a whole.

The rationale for the inclusion of the child's voice in the evacuation and occupation experience was that it had been overlooked in the literature to date, with the emphasis of existing literature being on the adult's autobiographical accounts or the official accounts as based on the records and documents produced during the period by the German and Island authorities.

This research aims to examine a unique period in Island and British history through those who experienced it. It was my intention to include as many individual stories as possible in order to obtain the broadest possible perspective of the time. In an attempt to contextualise the oral accounts, archived documents were utilised alongside published accounts.

The occupation of the Channel Islands included the occupation of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Sark, however this research focused only on Guernsey due to the logistics of travelling to the other islands to collect data. Also, although Jersey and Guernsey share many similarities, their approach to the occupation from the outset was different and their approach to the period since 1945 has also differed with Jersey, taking a much more organised and commercialised approach to the period. Furthermore, Jersey's political and administrative system is different to that of

Guernsey, as are their housing laws, underpinning economy and social structure.

These points therefore, defined the parameters of the research.

Although the evacuation and occupation period spanned just five years the approach of this research is to examine the long term effects of that time and consequently it was felt appropriate to place the experience in context and examine life in the Island before, during and after the 1940 – 1945 period in terms of the Island's social, political and economic life.

This research focuses heavily on relationships, the reasons for this are that firstly, relationships evolved as a core theme following analysis of the raw data based on the interviews and secondly a growing body of cross cultural evidence indicates that relationships are recognised as a key influence on well being both physical and psychological. They are protective of health in adolescents and later life. These relationships include the parent child relationship; sibling relationships and community relationships. Ryff and Singer (2000) suggest that relationships are one factor that can influence positive health behaviours, such as proper diet, adequate exercise and the ability to avoid cigarettes, drugs and excessive alcohol.

In addition to the importance of relationships, in recent years the life course approach to studying health and well being has revealed that exposure to negative experiences and environments accumulate throughout life and increase the risk of illness and premature death (Ben- Shlomo and Kuh 2002).

Slow growth in children, is an indicator of early disadvantage. Material and psychosocial disadvantage affects psychological and cognitive development which in

turn affects career opportunities and lifestyles (Winslow 1951; Jessor et al 1998).

Again it is claimed that lifestyle influences health and well being.

It is the aim of this research to investigate the long- term effects on relationships of the Occupation of Guernsey by the Germans during the Second World War and the effects on relationships that the evacuation from Guernsey to Britain had on Guernsey's families and Islanders in general. Although this study is based firmly in history I believe that the findings are pertinent to today's society in that separation experiences remain the same despite time and that the findings of this research may help to predict outcomes in a range of areas not purely separation resulting from war. It is hoped that this research may provide a greater understanding of separation experiences resulting from globalisation, breakdown of family life due to the increasing divorce rates and the increase in the number of children taken into care, as well as separation as a result of war. One area of interest to this research is that of sibling relationships, until recently, a neglected area for research with most emphasis being on the effects of separation on the parent child relationship rather than the sibling relationship. Although this research will examine the effect of separation experiences of children from their parents it will also look at the effect that separation had on sibling relationships in the long term. As we move through the 21st century it is likely that the need for strong sibling relationships will increase. As the baby boom generation ages, medical advances increase life expectancy and the cost of health care increases, adult siblings will need to co-operate to care for elderly parents and each other.

As previously stated this thesis attempts to integrate two disciplines, history and psychology. From a psychological stance there has been a great deal of interest over

the years (Freud and Burlingham 1943; Bowlby 1951/ 58/69/82; Clarke 1976; Ainsworth et al 1978; Van De Kolk 1987; McKendrick 1988; Rutter et al 1990; Solomon & George 1999; Howe 1999; Aldgate 2005) in the effects of separating children from their parents, in particular their mother. In World War II orphaned and displaced children were assumed to be at psychological risk as they were unable to filter their reactions to their situations through parents due to the fact that many were separated from their parents because of the evacuation, many of these children had experienced, not only separation but also loss.

In 1940, wartime conditions in Great Britain drew attention to the plight of children not only from the Channel Islands but also cities in England, separated from their families. Authorities hoping to reduce both the death toll and casualties amongst children in the cities, removed them from their families (with the families consent) and placed them in 'residential nurseries' or with foster parents. Often these new homes were in rural communities. Psychiatrists warned of the emotional and psychological risks involved in attempting to protect these children in this way. Anna Freud (1943) was invited by the authorities to study the problems of child separation. She concluded that institutionalised children were doomed to fail psychologically, because of maternal deprivation, despite good physical and social care.

John Bowlby (1951), was commissioned by the World Health Organisation to study the concept of maternal deprivation and make recommendations. He concluded that institutional care was in a poor state, he claimed the physical care of children was inadequate and even when there was good physical care institutional children were suffering psychological damage. He believed this was the result of disrupting the bond between mother and child. Maternal deprivation became a weapon in the armoury of child-care professionals who wanted to replace orphanages with home

care.

Rene Spitz (1945) also reported on the emotional and physical regression of infants in foundling homes. He too claimed this was due to mother child separation.

Empirical support also comes from clinical studies of William Goldfarb (1943; 1947; 1949) who tested small groups of adolescents from one New York City orphanage.

His reports of serious deficiencies with speech, intellect, personality and social development were widely circulated among and accepted by social work professionals.

All the above led to a grim view of orphanages and separating a child from its mother, but most of these findings were based on selected clinical studies rather than evaluations and comparisons. The overall opinion was that any amount of separation from the mother was damaging and the damage increased in proportion to the separation period. The significance here is that separation, maternal deprivation and institutionalised care were all linked together. The fact is, many children who were evacuated experienced separation and maternal deprivation but were not placed in institutions. This research aims to investigate the separation experiences of these children.

It could be argued that the children in this research were not subjected to trauma in the same way as children who more directly witness atrocities on the front line of war, however I would argue that for the purposes of this research the definition of trauma used will be:

The Person experienced, witnessed or was confronted with an event (s) that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to

the physical integrity of self or others and the person's response involved intense fear, helplessness, or horror.

(Diagnostic and Statistical Manual. American Psychiatric Association 1994)

Using this definition it is clear that many of the Guernsey children did experience trauma and some of those who remained on the Island did witness atrocities by the occupying force against slave labourers, their friends and their parents including physical violence. The question is what effect, if any, could these traumas have had on the individual's psychopathology and their relationships with parents, siblings and others and how could this impact on their lives in the long term?

As previously stated, war is not the only instigator of separation in families, globalisation is transforming and reshaping communities and families. With over one hundred and thirty million immigrants and refugees world wide the proportion of families involved in migrations is considerable (Glick – Schiller 1992). In the process of migration, families undergo profound transformations that are often complicated by extended periods of separation from loved ones not only the extended family but also the nuclear family. New findings from an ongoing longitudinal (five year) study of 407 immigrant children between the ages of nine and fourteen, suggests that a high proportion , 85 percent, will experience separation from one or both parents during the migratory process (Suarez – Orozco, 2001). The same research found that 35 per cent of immigrant children experienced separation from their fathers for five or more years, this is comparable with the evacuation experiences. The findings of this research (*The Harvard Immigration Project*) showed that children who arrived in the United States as a family unit involving no separations from their parents were less likely to report depressive symptoms than

children whose families had separated during the migratory process. The research found children often experienced migratory separations as painful and consequently difficulties in family relationships and dynamics occurs.

Often the reunification of the entire family can take several years perhaps as a result of financial problems but often due to immigration laws (Arnold 1991; Simpao 1999). These separations often result in two sets of disruptions in attachments – first from the parent and then from the substitute care giver to whom the child may have become attached during the parent and child separation period.

Clearly there are many families involved in trans-national formulations but despite this there has been little research into the effects on the family's experiences of separations. What we know tends to be anecdotal and derived from clinical reports (Falicov 1998; Glasgow & Gouse-Shees, 1995; Sciarra 1999). Whilst these reports are valuable in delineating the syndrome and its clinical ramifications they do not shed light on the prevalence of family separations caused by migrations. Because these studies are derived from clinical populations they only focus on those who are not successful in managing the separations without clinical intervention, this could result in over pathologising the outcome of separations. Whilst there are many similarities between those who are separated as a result of conflict and those who are separated due to trans-national formulations there may also be many differences, however, without appropriate research the possibility to generalise outcomes remains unknown.

Perhaps one of the major differences between this research and much of the previous research on family separations is that this research attempts to offer a new approach

by integrating two disciplines, history and psychology, furthermore, it is a retrospective study spanning, at the time of the data collection, five decades and looks at the life outcomes of forty people over sixty plus years. The unique contribution of this research is its contribution to the study of relationships which evolved from the German Occupation of British soil. The experiences of the Channel Islanders during this period have been neglected in terms of academic research and perhaps this is particularly true of those who were children at that time. It would be wrong to assume that Guernsey children should be placed in the same category as children evacuated from other parts of the British Isles. Life in Guernsey at that time was far removed from life in the British Isles. Close community networks existed and provided for social control and social cohesion. The extended family was considered important with child-care responsibilities being shared. It was not considered unusual for aunts and uncles to take on the parenting role of their nieces and nephews on a fulltime long-term basis. From a religious point of view, Catholicism had a strong influence with a number of children, particularly those from middle-class families attending private Catholic schools even though they were not Catholic, possibly because they offered private education, which was conducive to middle class aspirations of betterment.

On a practical level many children had never left the Island prior to 1940, they had not travelled on boats, had not seen trains and were not used to the very different lifestyles, red brick two up two down houses, smoky atmosphere, smog and climate of the North of England, where many were evacuated.

Time is passing and I feel it is important to harness the memories of those 'children' for the sake of posterity before we lose a wealth of rich information about

a unique period in history, although I acknowledge that the memories are those of adults recalling childhood. Already ‘one voice’ has been lost to the annals of history and that is the ‘voice’ of the parents of these children, had it have been possible to include that ‘voice’ a new dimension, would, I have no doubt, been added to these findings. From the interviews it became clear that the interviewees were just as eager to ensure their stories would not be lost but would be heard for decades to come.

It is my intention in this research to investigate a range of issues evolving from separation experiences and I will reflect upon the effects of separations and delineate factors that may complicate or conversely attenuate the separation. This research will make comparisons between families who were negatively affected by separation and those who were not. In the course of the investigation, I will take into account the effect of memory and the importance of the role of narrative telling in both historical and psychological terms.

Structure of thesis

The structure of this thesis has been influenced by the debates within the literature review. The aim of this research was to investigate the possible impact of the evacuation and occupation experience 1940 to 1945, on the lives and relationships of Guernsey children and Guernsey society. A qualitative approach based on the principles of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990) was adopted to analyse the data collected during the interviews. The theme of relationships emerged from the first analysis. Reanalysis of the theme relationships revealed four types of relationships were significant; parent –child; siblings; evacuated and occupied and occupied and the Germans. From this was borne the following research questions:

- 1 What effect, if any, could trauma have had on the individual's relationship with parents, siblings and others?
- 2 Competent and resourceful carers can help to provide a buffer against trauma in young children, was this evident in this research?
- 3 Was there evidence of difficulties in family relationships and dynamics following separation?
- 4 Why was there conflict between those who were evacuated and those who were occupied after the Liberation?
- 5 Why did relationships form between Germans and those occupied?
- 6 Is collective memory regarding the occupation evacuation period permanently defined and fixed or are social and economic changes the catalysts for a new interpretation of public memory?

This thesis consists of the following chapters:

Chapter 1:- Introduction

Literature review. The review will divide into three chapters:

Chapter 2:- Narrative Study of Life History – will examine the literature relevant to the research, in particular, the debates around narrative, psychology and life history and the narrative function. It will also examine the application of psychological perspectives to history and will examine individual and collective memory and historical continuity and how these may influence the outcomes of this research.

Chapter 3: – Guernsey's Recent Past. A literature review of occupation material to date and the reliability of the myriad of source material. This chapter will also provide the reader with an understanding of the backdrop against which the evacuation and occupation took place and provide an insight into life in Guernsey prior to 1940 as well as life in the island following the war up to the present time. In addition this chapter outlines the Islands constitution and administration system which is different to that of the U.K. and which consequently had an impact on the management of the Islands by the German Authorities.

Chapter 4:- The Experience of War on Children: Evacuation, Separation and Attachment. This provides an examination of the literature into, evacuation experiences and parent child separation which is relevant in order to ascertain whether the Guernsey experience supports previous findings.

Chapter 5:- Methodology . Outlines the rationale for the method chosen, describes how the research was carried out and analysed and identifies the limitations of the sample and method.

Findings: These are treated as four separate chapters each relates to a research question as posed in the introduction.

Chapter 6 – Findings regarding relationships between parents and child. This chapter examines the various responses of those who were children at the time and the effect of separation on the parent child relationship.

Chapter 7- Findings regarding relationships between siblings. To date this is an area that has not been the subject of a great deal of research. In this chapter I look at the effect separation had on sibling relationships

Chapter 8 – Findings regarding relationships which existed following the end of the war between those who were occupied and those who were evacuated.

Chapter 9 – Findings regarding relationships which developed between some Germans and some of those occupied.

Chapter 10:- Discussion. An evaluation of the findings in relation to the literature and an examination of the outcome of all the research in relation to the sixth research question.

Chapter 11: - Conclusion. An overview of the application of psychological perspectives to history using biographical narrative as the vehicle for data collection.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The introduction of this thesis states that the literature concerning the occupation and evacuation to date has not encompassed the views of those who were children at that time and who were evacuated or occupied. Academic literature to date has not provided for the complexities of the period and the voice of the children has been excluded. The absence of this voice ensures an incomplete picture of history and the inclusion of the voice leads to a new dimension being added to the story.

The literature review is divided into three chapters, the first focuses on the narrative study to life history and looks at the narrative function in relation to psychology and life history. It also examines the application of psychological perspectives to history and examines individual and collective memory in relation to historical continuity. I will explore the general debates and controversies that have occurred within the disciplines of history and psychology and how memory and history may be influenced by these.

Chapter three – Guernsey's recent past provides the context for the research. As it was the intention of this research to explore the long term effects of the separation and evacuation it was deemed appropriate to investigate how the Island had evolved prior to the Second World War and developed since the war as this may impact upon the outcomes and effect the perceptions of Islanders. This chapter also examines

existing literature on the occupation and evacuation and comments on the origins of these writings.

Finally, chapter four is an examination of literature on war time experience of the evacuation, separation and attachment. The relevance of this is to ascertain whether or not the Guernsey experience supports previous findings on separation or whether it can offer additional insights

NARRATIVE STUDY OF LIFE HISTORY

Introduction

We create ourselves out of all the stories we tell about our lives, stories that impose a meaning on experiences that often seem random and discontinuous. As we scrutinise our own past in an effort to explain ourselves to ourselves we discover or invent, consistent motivations, characteristic patterns, fundamental values, a sense of self. Fashioned out of memories our stories become our identities (Drew Gilpen Faust, *Havard Magazine* 2003 May – June: Vol 105 No5 p38).

This chapter describes how I explored the literature on psychological approaches, collective memory and history and why I eventually chose the methods I did. It provides the context for the choice by examining developments in the methods used by historians and psychologists. I felt that the eventual methodology would have to take into account the diversity of the subject material as well as incorporate both the official voice and the individual's personal experience and also provide a vehicle for the integration of two disciplines, oral history and narrative psychology.

The literature central to my choice of methodology includes Sarbin (1986), McAdams (1985b, 1987, 1993), and Kotre (1984), on narrative psychology; Bruner (1958, 1986, 1990, 1991); Schwartz (1982, 1991, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1997), Schudson, (1989, 1992); Schils, (1975, 1981); Halbwachs, (1980, 1992); Bodnar (1992) Zerubavel (1995) and Zerubavel (1996) on memory, collective memory and historical continuity and Thompson (1998, 2000) on oral history.

Throughout this chapter, I will use the concepts of narrative and stories interchangeably. Bruner (1958) states that stories are the way we organise our experiences and memories and consequently the terms narrative and story can be used interchangeably. Key words in this chapter will be: narratives; identity and memory.

Narrative Psychology

One definition, the definition used in this research, of narrative psychology is that it refers to a point of view or stance within psychology that is interested in the storied nature of human experience (Sarbin 1986), in other words, how human beings deal with experience by constructing stories and listening to the stories of others. Human activity and experience is filled with meaning and so stories cannot be dissected in terms of logical argument. In other words, an individual's truth remains the truth as perceived and as peculiar to them (Plummer 2001), they have invested a considerable amount of themselves in that truth. Narrative is the vehicle by which meaning is communicated. According to Sarbin (1986) narrative is:

a root metaphor for psychology to replace the mechanistic metaphors which have shaped the discipline over a period of a century.

Narrative psychology is an approach which studies individuals across their life span from the perspective of the question ‘how can one understand their development psychologically?’ Since the mid 1980s extensive research in this tradition has been undertaken by Dan McAdams who developed the Life Story Interview. Many theorists would claim that narrative psychology refers to a viewpoint or stance within psychology which is interested in how humans deal with experience by constructing stories and listening to stories of others (Sarbin 1986; McAdams 1988; Rosenwald and Ochberg 1992; Hinchman and Hinchman 1997).

Psychologists studying narrative are challenged by the notion that human activity and experience are filled with meaning and that stories rather than logical arguments are the vehicle by which meaning is communicated. This dichotomy is expressed by Jerome Bruner (1986; 1990; 1991) as he makes the distinction between paradigmatic and narrative forms of thought which he claims are both fundamental and irreducible one to the other.

Twenty years ago, according to Gergen (1998), inquiry into narrative played only a minor role in scholarly deliberation; the relationship between narrative and historiography was at its embryonic stage, in fact the term ‘narrative’ had scarcely entered the vocabulary of psychological science. Today the study of narrative can be found throughout the humanities and social sciences (Miller et al 1990; Penuel and Wertsch 1995; Polkinghorne 1988). Narratives influence the reality of our lives and our lives and behaviour along with our understanding of the concepts of reality and facts are structured through language and therefore through narratives. In other

words – language and life are inextricably related. Narratives help construct intellectual property, they are used to construct a dominant discourse (Fish 1980).

The world is framed by language and its meaning stems from the existence of a linguistically constructed social structure. Not only is the world a product of cultural categories but the self is constructed through communication (Coombe 2000).

Narrative is an interdisciplinary theoretical starting point, which has been central to theoretical discussions (Kuhn 1962; Lyotard 1979). It is the basis for a shared reality. Human interaction occurs within a socially constructed and linguistically created world (Bormann 1972).

Stories and Narrative

Stories provide for meaning which in turn provides an insight into how individuals are included, perhaps excluded, manipulated and motivated (Chamberlayne and King 2000). Clarity may be lost in perception, experience and semantics and so textual analysis picks at the fragments that transform stories into beliefs and values into narratives. Stories exist within a hermeneutic circle (Miller 2000), they influence us and we influence them. Until they are placed in the context of culture and history, stories are without meaning and this I have attempted to address in the social history chapter of this thesis. However, the culture may be expanded, enriched, even transformed when enough voices unite to tell the story (Lewis 1975) and history, after it has been touched by political and social change, reconciliation and acceptance can colour and transform the story (Bodnar 1992). It should be acknowledged; that for every narrative shared there is an unlimited number of

alternative narratives subsisting within it or as a response to it (Hernstein Smith 1991).

Narratives have the capacity to provide alternatives to dominant ideologies. They can be radical, subversive or as previously indicated transformational. They may assist in documenting hidden histories (Rickard 2002). Stories and narratives are, inextricably entwined. They are but one notion of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention and necessity (Bruner 1958).

Stories and narratives constitute a discourse. The term discourse implies communication and the term communication implies a shared meaning. A discourse is often viewed as professional and scientific and yet it remains an abstract term (de Certeau 2004). A discourse has its roots in reality but the division between reality and fiction is ambiguous. If all events are interpretations based on language and language is rooted in culture then by its very definition the line between fact and fiction is blurred by interpretation. Reality and fiction are not exclusive of one another but rather merge in a marriage of uniformity or continuity, they are inextricably entwined (de Certeau 2004).

Narrative Function

So what then is the function of narratives? It would appear that one of the major functions of narrative is perhaps to authorise (de Certeau 2004) this may be achieved via analysis.

Stories inherently incorporate a value system. Often they begin life as a personal testimony, take on general characteristics and frequently are adopted by a wider

population. At this point stories can take on the role of educative tools for they can establish the difference between right and wrong, and between what is acceptable and what is not acceptable. Ernest Bormann (1972) called this 'the rhetorical vision'. In other words an explanation of how individuals become part of a shared community identity through narrative. For Bormann a rhetorical vision is a collectively designed story that explains reality. Bormann's model is a narrative model, which looks for dramatic elements used to construct a commonly shared vision. There are several elements that are outlined in order to clarify the narrative process of the rhetorical vision. Firstly, there needs to be a pattern of characterisation, in other words, the same people occurring in the same roles. Secondly, there needs to be repetition of patterns of action, in other words the same stories are repeated. If these elements are present then Bormann states:

Once the rhetorical critics document the presence of rhetorical visions, communities and consciousness, they can make a humanistic evaluation of the quality of the rhetoric and the social realities of the people who share the consciousness. A critic needs to evaluate and to judge the discourse and to provide added insight into how it works.

(Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 58 1972 pp396 -407).

The significance of this to the Guernsey narrative may be to explain how the Guernsey narrative has been developed, nurtured and sustained.

Denzin (2001) states the biographical model is accepted as having a unique value. This is in part the result of the demystification of the so called scientific approach to

research, the critique of statistics as socially constructed and the questioning of facts as things (Lyotard 1984). It would seem that there has been a shift from explanation to understanding (Chamberlayne et al 2000).

This rather more phenomenological task, in other words the study of conscious experience as experienced from the subjective or first person point of view (Husserl 2001), focuses on providing understandings, negotiating meanings or attempting to make sense. The biographical model allows all the participants involved in this research process to work together to construct, then deconstruct and reconstruct the narrative discourse. The end result is likely to be the exposure of multiple realities and a cultural diversity in those narratives (Armstrong 1998; Chamberlayne et al 2000).

The life history method appears to be a way of allowing people to integrate the fragments of their lives and their selves through critical reflection and evaluation of their lived experiences to a point where they can justify, resolve and view their story in a holistic way. (Armstrong 1998) The success of narrative as a vehicle for eliciting an accurate picture of experience and therefore history is open to debate but what it does achieve is to provide an insight into how the interviewee sees him or herself (Plummer 2001) and by so doing gives form to one's past and present (Freeman 1993).

Social Psychology and Narratives

From a psychological perspective the question asked when narrative is applied to social psychology is, how the individual relates to his/her own story? In other words, what role do they create for themselves and others they interact with and how do they

evaluate those roles? The relevance of this for this research is that to date the official narrative suggests a unified approach to the occupation and evacuation, would this research support the official narrative?

Psychological Perspectives

In one of the first attempts to apply narrative to social psychology the link between a life and the story told about it was explored. Kotre (1984) speculated on the presence of ‘archetypal stories’ which placed individual lives in the context of collective meanings. Kotre claimed that certain stories had a generative potential, which enables individuals to come to terms with life crises such as old age. However, Kotre does not resolve the issue of individuals who might lack a collective story.

There are many different psychological approaches to understanding the significance of the role of life story telling and it is interesting to consider briefly how these approaches might be applied to the interviewees in this research. Some of the approaches emphasise the therapeutic affect that story telling could have and it is possible that this research inadvertently offered such an affect.

Psychological Approaches and Identity

Social psychology is divided into different schools of thought and these provide us with alternative models for understanding how identity comes about. The schools look at different areas: the cognitive model studies what is found in the heads of individuals and the ethnogenic model concentrates on the product of a collection of heads and their contents.

The position of the cognitive school is to construct theories that predict the behaviour of individuals. Emotional and psychological well-being is the result of an individual being able to control his or her own environment (Ryff and Singer 1998). This need to control may not lie easily with the truth (Fiske & Taylor 1984). Control always depends upon the internal processes.

Cognitive School and Identity

Social cognition presumes that individuals attempt to predict the behaviour of others and then exert control over them. Narrative, however contains an element of contingency which prevents the predictable. Given that narrative involves chance occurrences it operates in a less structured way than an approach grounded in scientific principles.

Schafer (1978) outlined the notion of 'visions of reality' and this has in common with the cognitive school the assumption that individuals are largely made up of the pictures they carry around in their heads. The task of psychoanalysis for Schafer is to provide a more central position for the analysed in the story so that choices might emerge where before they were events. Both psychoanalysis and the cognitive school offer narrative a place in the head of the individual.

Ethnogenic School and Identity

The ethnogenic school, on the other hand, constructs the identity outside the individual's head and in fact the individual is nothing more than how he or she is seen by others. Harré and Secord (1972), contrast their ethnogenic project with the Humean model of causation where external stimuli are impressed on passive objects, the so called 'subjects'.

The ethnogenic school finds a voice in the Social Construction Movement. The ethnogenic school places the individual in a world made up of conversation. Harré, Clarke and de Carlo (1985) refer to conversation as the 'basic reality' in which subjectivity and understanding can be found.

Narrative as far as the ethnogenic school is concerned is not just a picture but an act. One needs a story in order to participate in the conversation and that conversation helps to define one's identity. It is therefore, both the teller and the audience who together form an individual's identity. The audience interprets the narrative in accordance with the values that the group holds. Clearly, the ethnogenic school moves the action from the individual to the social world. Gergen (1994) emphasises the significance of the 'warranting voice' where one's participation in the action is dependent on authorisation within a shared set of values.

There is then a choice between locating narrative within the mental space of the individual or the social relationship that individuals have with the world. The cognitive approach sets out clear boundaries within which understanding takes place whereas the ethnogenic approach provides an opportunity for the individual to speak for themselves.

Personality theory, which presupposes traits as underlying determinants of identity, is consistent with the roles in literature of minor characters whose identities are engrained and therefore static, for example "the honest soul". Clearly, such codes would have implications as far as the individual's ability to change his or her situation is concerned and it is possible that this approach may have unknowingly

been adopted by some of the interviewees. For example the Guernsey person is believed to have certain personality traits (which they are proud of) such as stubborn, friendly and honest.

Sarbin's collection of essays was published in 1986, the first being devoted to narrative psychology attempted to identify ways in which the individual made sense of his world through stories. By recounting the stories of the occupation and evacuation and by looking perhaps for the collective stories the interviewees may attempt to make sense of or even justify their experiences.

The psychoanalytic approach tends to place emphasis on the process of individuals reconstructing stories and the role of analytic therapy in that process. The process of psychoanalysis entails the narrating of an experience which otherwise lingers as a traumatic lapse of meaning. Successful self- narrative is a precondition for psychological well- being. Schafer (1978) a psychoanalyst, believed the principle goal of therapy should be

to place the analysed in an active relationship to his or her life situation.

(Language and Insight. New Haven: Yale University Press 1978)

The analysed might be seen as taking an active role in the story rather than a passive role as the victim of circumstance. For other narrative therapies the main theme is 'self authorising', by this the individual can take control of the stories governing his or her identity (Epston, White and Murray 1992). This approach differentiates from the Schaffer (1978) approach in that Schaffer gives the role of the principal narrator

to the analyst. In other words, narratives and the process of story telling may prove to be therapeutic and life enhancing from a health stance.

For the individual there are benefits to personal story telling. Maguire (1998) suggests six benefits; it invests our lives with more meaning, this notion is supported by McAdams (1993); connects us more vitally with others, Taylor (1996) agrees with this idea; develops our creativity (Cassady 1990); strengthens our humour; increases our courage and confidence (Taylor 1996); and renders our lives more memorable, (Denning 2001).

According to McMahon and Rhudick (1964), reminiscence is helpful in monitoring identity and self esteem, whilst Coleman (1999) suggests that talking, thinking and writing about the past can serve different functions and may be both adaptive and maladaptive and a life review can act as a reconciling and healing activity. Coleman suggests that to date the use of life reviews in this capacity has been neglected (Coleman 1999). However, an increase in the resurgence of war trauma memories in those who experienced the traumas of war after a symptom free life may increase the focus on reminiscing as a way of providing a coping mechanism for those who have retired. Hunt (1997) suggests that avoidance which may have been successfully employed during a busy working life, is often a lost coping strategy following retirement and consequently Veterans have to find new coping strategies. This is made more difficult by findings such as those of Davies (1997) who found that stories of low morale and panic during the Second World War were suppressed and the solidarity of the community stressed to such a degree that fifty years later it was harder to address the neuroses that the then adults, had subsequently developed when as children they had been separated from their families.

Taylor (1996) states we are our stories, the product of all the stories we have heard and lived. Stories shape how we see ourselves, how we see the world and our place in it. He states that knowing and embracing healthy stories are crucial to living rightly and well, and that broken or diseased life stories can be replaced by a story that has a plot worth living.

A major goal in therapy is to construct a coherent life story. According to Taylor (1996 p4), “illness amounts at least in part to suffering from an incoherent story or an inadequate narrative account of oneself”. Bristow, a psychotherapist, states that, “telling and living a story are not that different” (Bristow 1997 p18).

For McAdams (1988) narrative individualises and socialises. McAdams suggests the presence of a narrative tone which exists from early infancy and develops into a more complex form of biography. Positive and negative tones determine one’s view of self, one’s story and one’s identity. He provides a set of normative standards for self-narratives, such as continuity and complexity, to which the developmental process is seen to progress. While like many developmental schemas, the events in early childhood are seen to be critical in determining later progress, McAdams allows for the contribution of a social context in providing the narrative structure through which the self evolves. In other words from the point of view of this research the narrative shared would have been influenced not only by the social context experienced by the growing child through to the adult but also the ‘narrative tone’ present in infancy.

In the later part of the twentieth century narrative psychology was incorporated into the broader movement of constructionism. The aim of this school of thought is to investigate selfhood as a product of public discourse rather than an internal psychic process. Constructionism informs the various studies collected by Rosenwald and Ochberg in '*Storied Lives: The Cultural Politics of Self Understanding*' (1992). They argued for a "performative" theory of identity in which life stories do not simply reflect actual events but rather shape them and in so doing shape who an individual is. Editors, that is those who work with or on the individual's narrative, these people could be biographers, historians, researchers, or the individuals themselves, enlarge the range of personal narrative partly by elaborating stories of individuals who find themselves outside conventional frames of intelligibility, in doing so they propose a dialectic between social conventions and individual desire which leads to life stories that claim to be unique.

Giddens (1991) believed that in societies where modernity is well developed self identity becomes an inescapable issue. Whilst earlier societies with a social order based firmly in tradition would provide individuals with clearly defined roles, in post- traditional societies we have to work out our roles for ourselves. Giddens sees connections between the most micro aspects of society – individuals' internal sense of self and identity – and the bigger macro picture of the state, multinational corporations, and globalisation. These different levels which have traditionally been treated as separate by sociology, have influence on each other and cannot be understood in isolation. The relevance of this for this research is that the narrative of the individual should be placed in the context of the social, economic, political and cultural aspects of the time. However, this research is retrospective and Giddens went on to explain that social changes may be brought about by changes in how

individuals' view life, which in turn stem from social influences and observations but these changes originate not purely from a macro level but also as the result of demand from the level of everyday lives, in other words the individual's desire to change – the micro level. Consequently change is the result of an interaction between micro and macro forces.

What is more the mass media is also likely to influence individuals' perceptions of their relationships. Good media does not rely on stability and lack of change but rather supports the emphasis on changing relationships and attitudes. Information and ideas from the media do not merely reflect the social world but contribute to shaping it. The implication of this for the current research is that the narratives shared by the subjects may over time have been influenced on a macro level by social influences and changes in attitudes and the influence of the media. Whilst it is important to understand the context of the period being researched it is also important to acknowledge that the above variables have also played their part in negotiating the narrative shared.

Berger and Luckman (1966) prompted much fundamental thinking about the nature of the social world as having both objective and subjective reality. They argued that identity is a social process that is maintained, modified and reshaped by social relations. They went on to suggest that the identities produced from this interplay themselves react upon the social structure, maintaining it, modifying it and reshaping it. From a psychological point of view this epistemological framework offers an obvious link between studying the individual and an understanding of larger social realities. In other words, whilst an individual's identity is shaped by the world which he lives in at the same time that individual reciprocates by shaping the world.

Therefore the individual experience can best be examined by also examining the context of the world in which he lives.

Discourse provides the means by which we establish our identity. Often one's means of identifying oneself is through personal history and therefore memory plays an important role in narrative. Traditionally psychologists have treated memory as lodged within the individual. Memory is a central ingredient of human make up however the social constructionist argues that the concept of human memory as a specific process within a human mind is a discursive artefact (Gergen 1994). In other words memory is not a mental event but is socially designated, and socially contrived. Being part of a collective memory means acceptance within a cultural tradition. We are what our society is and our culture dictates. If one accepts that memory is discursive then surely one must also accept that memory through discourse exists within relationships and is consequently a social undertaking.

Oral History

Oral history is the newest and the oldest way of making history however, it diminished in esteem when history became a profession in its own right in the twentieth century in the Western World and when its critical methodology was applied exclusively to written sources. The re – emergence of oral history and its systematic use is a relatively new development of the last few decades (Thompson 2000).

In the United States, the use of oral testimonies in historical construction reappeared after the Second World War as an academic field of study. Through oral history, it was possible to respond to questions which until then had remained unanswered

because of the lack of written sources. The positivist tradition of the twentieth century had established the supremacy of written documents but this was challenged by the oral history approach.

Oral history is the process in which direct witnesses of past events are interviewed for historical reconstruction (Grele 1991). It has specific research techniques which are of use for various disciplines, gaining appreciation in the world of social sciences (Moss 1974). In contrast to the historian who looks for written sources relating to completed events whose participants have died, oral historians work with the testimony of individuals who were part of the event being studied and therefore concentrate on contemporary history.

There has been an increase in the emphasis on preserving memory which can be seen in all walks of life (Samuel 1990; 1994). Oral history has grown in popularity beyond purely academic circles in both institutional and community contexts (Denzin 2001). The objectives of those who construct oral history sources in these areas are diverse.

Oral history draws attention to the potential tensions between the oral testimonies of leaders and the protagonists and those who have been marginalised in voicing their experiences. In the United States, following the Second World War oral history aimed to obtain records of the elite or witnesses of important events and record them for the sake of posterity. This activity was closely linked to archives and libraries. Testimonies were transcribed and preserved. In one sense oral history was a vehicle for collecting information for future historians and researchers. Methodological problems with respect to the interview and written transcriptions were not addressed and the process was approached in a way not very different from traditional history.

The oral historians role was similar to that of an archivist in producing materials for others, the interpretation was the role of others (Grele 1991). The objective of oral history was to obtain and preserve the memory of individuals for historical purposes (Starr 1996).

Some of the issues which arose from this approach included: how should the process of the interview be developed? Which is the document, the transcription or the tape? How should the interview be catalogued? What is the relationship between oral sources and other documents already archived? The documents that were archived tended to be the transcripts of interviews and these became equivalent to the traditional written sources and so posed no problems for archivists. This was the case in the United States, Italy, France, Argentina and Mexico.

In Britain in the 1960s interest shifted from the stories of the elite to those whose voices had previously been marginalised. The objective was to produce a social history of those who had not previously been given a voice in the hegemonic culture (Samuel 1981). This meant that experiences could be studied that could not have been studied by using written documents.

At the present time the main objective of oral historians in academic circles is not so much to produce sources but historical knowledge. Present issues relate to methodological concerns about the nature, use of and status of oral testimonies (Portelli 1991). The nature of oral sources is that they are subjective and they embrace imagination and emotions. Oral history reveals not only what has happened but also its significance. It is a tool for the construction of a history of subjectivity

(Portelli 1991). Grele (1991) suggests that the role of the historian in oral history is that he or she is both the creator and the user of the interview.

Oral history sources are a shared creation between the interviewer and the interviewee, they include selection and interpretation of existing historical knowledge. The outcome of the interview is influenced by the historic perspectives of both parties to the interview. It is a social construction which must take into account the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee as well as national and community narratives.

The material which forms the oral history is about events but it is also about memory, present needs and reassessment of past experiences. Memory is the root source of oral history and is subjective in nature. It interprets rather than reflects history and this can result in different versions of reality and history (Portelli 1991). Memory is subjective in that it may also change over time to accommodate the changes in the social, economic and political climate of the time when the memory is recalled. Furthermore memory may be influenced by the biological changes which accompany the aging process consequently it is subjective and selective. Subjectivity is, however not only an issue exclusive to oral history it is common to all sources of history and historians are questioning all forms of documentation (Portelli 1991).

The use of memory as the basis for historical evidence has been criticised since the nineteenth century, mainly because memory deteriorates over time and is consequently unreliable. Since the 1970s there has been a value attached to this as what is remembered and how it is remembered has become increasingly important in its own right. Memory retains what is considered worthy of remembrance (1994).

Furthermore, what is forgotten can be as important as what is remembered. Of significance is the way memories are constructed and reconstructed in response to changing circumstances and as part of a contemporary consciousness. Memory is part of history but is also distinct from it.

In an attempt to adopt a more democratic approach to studying the past oral history has grown in popularity (Bornat 1998, Perks 2000). This in turn has provided its own challenges for archivists. The variety of oral testimonies makes classification complex as they are cultural products and provide for overlapping between private public and individual memories as well as relationships between the past and the present (Thompson 1988/2000). Furthermore changes in technology and legislation relating to data kept on individuals effects what is kept and how it is kept this provides the archivist with a new role which involves them in selecting and creating archives. Issues relating to privacy, copyright and the increased use of the internet for circulating oral testimonies have all arisen in recent years.

Social Memory

In the past two decades new influences have come to bear upon oral history, there has been a growth in life history research among the Chicago School with the acknowledgement of the multiple and subjective nature of human experience, and pleas from researchers to embrace life history as a research vehicle (Plummer 2001) Of equal importance has been the acknowledgement of the fact that different social groups remember a life experience differently.

Every nation and Island creates a collective memory for its people, by doing so it unites them and justifies their status (Zerubavel 1995). By creating a master narrative

society legitimises a shared destiny by emphasising a common past. The past legitimises authority in the present (Lewis 1975).

In recent years with the unification of East and West Germany in 1990, the desegregation of South Africa throughout the 1990s and the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, it can be seen that the new political and economic structures led to a revision of the authorized history of the countries. Drastic social change frequently leads to a restructuring or new understanding of the past and this is likely to continue as those with little or no “historical capital” (Nora 1989) compete with the dominant ideology to interpret the past. The significance of such changes will be considered in relation to Guernsey and the aim of this research.

Collective Memory

Research into memory has tended to focus on the individuals memory in isolation working on simplistic tasks, for example chunking of words and numbers (Miller 1956). This type of memory does not involve interaction with others and is not placed in any social context, it therefore lacks meaning (Zerubavel 1996). Factors such as semantics, perception and interpretation are ignored in favour of a more factual and quantifiable approach. With the growth in life history research and emphasis on autobiographical memory, there is currently a great deal of discussion in the humanities and social sciences about collective memory, but there is little agreement on what it is and how it works. It is derived from literature, psychology, history, cultural studies and of course shared individual memories. Recall ‘improves’ when two or more people are asked to recall together a particular memory. A single person is likely to recall less information than two people but because memories are shared it does not always mean they are accurate, nor do they necessarily agree

(Lewis 1975). However, talking about past events does help to create a shared history, this is important in developing and strengthening relationships and bonds. Through sharing memories and past experiences society learns to conceptualise itself and define itself in terms of who it is and how it relates to other societies. It provides a basis for understanding where we have come from and where we are now. It should be acknowledged that sometimes what we consider to be traditions of cultural heritage or shared cultural events may have been invented and then established as historical. Lipsitz (1990) argued that 1950s television helped to invent a fictional past in which the nuclear family and its emphasis on consumerism was indicative of family health, wealth and virtue; so the new collective memory engineered on TV played a key role in the promotion of consumption, in the disruption of longer standing non-nuclear familial structures and in the naturalisation of a woman's sphere.

The influence of the media in creating collective memories of a shared past should, therefore, be borne in mind for through it, beliefs about ourselves as a collective society, about our past and future have to some degree been established and these beliefs in turn have helped in evolving our national identity and provided for unity (Lowenthal 1985; Schwartz 1991).

The media is highly selective and tends to focus on the mainstream of narrative, by doing so minority groups or those whose memories do not fit the accepted narrative are at least marginalized and at worst ignored (Alonso 1988; Bodnar 1992). In the past memories were more internal and passed on verbally. Today memories are more external and take the form of texts – books, letters, the media, even the internet. All memories whether verbalised or textual are narratives and all narratives evolve from

an interplay between experiences, time, society and the individual but how well does collective memory and history fit together?

There may be a subtle difference between collective memory and history. Halbwachs (1992) believes that collective memory is concerned with the stability of the past over time whereas history is concerned with change over time. It is argued that memory is not an individual behaviour but based on a shared experience (Halbwachs 1980), it is the result of an interaction within the community and our social environment affects not only what we remember but also how we remember it (Zerubavel 1996). With its social characteristics memory becomes collective memory (Halbwachs 1980), social memory (Fentress & Wickham 1992) or public memory (Bodnar 1992). The present is the result of the past. Every community develops its own memory of a past that is distinct from that of other groups, the past is utilised to construct the identity of the group. Collective memory is in turn utilised to articulate the group's value system (Anderson 1991). Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union the Soviet people were forced to let go of their own collective memory and to import and reconstruct a different set of collective memories (Coser 1992). The heroes of the past take on the mantle of the villains of the present. The desegregated South Africa is "working hard to forget its oppressive past by erasing physical evidence of her apartheid past" (*New York Times June 15th 1994*).

It is argued that collective memory reconstructs its recollections to accord with contemporary ideas and occupations (Halbwachs 1992). The past is reconstructed taking into account the needs of the present and the value of the past in solving the problems of today. Nora (1989) states that collective memory is "in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its

successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being dormant and periodically revived". Alonso (1988) believed that social memory is the direct result of a power struggle and that the dominating social group has the power to interpret the past. Along a similar theme Bodnar (1992) states that public memory is the result of an elite manipulation of the past and that public memory changes as political power and social arrangements change (Bodnar 1992). He pursues this concept to the point where he claims that new symbols must be constructed to accommodate new memory and old ones have to be invested with new meanings. The present then is a continuous process of reworking, reconstructing, reinterpreting and replacing the past until it can be acceptable to the present (Lewis 1975). These theorists all belong to the constructionist school of thought which appears to have an underlying principle that people construct their memories of the past to serve their own interests today (Geertz 1973)

Historical Continuity

According to Schils (1981) the past is part of the present, all existing things have a past and each generation possesses the unique, but no generation creates all of what it is or what constitutes it. Much of what we have and are has been handed down to us, hence historical continuity. All existing things have a past; change as well as persistence is gripped by the past. Each generation possesses particularity, however, no generation creates all of what it uses or of what constitutes it (Schils 1981).

Schudson (1989) states the past is constantly being retold in an effort to legitimate present interests but despite this it is highly resistant to efforts to change it.

According to Schudson the past cannot be constructed at will. The past is an integral part of the present and the present is borne from the past. In some instances the past

is resistant to efforts to make it over and change it. The idea that the present shapes our understanding of the past is in part only half the truth for Schudson who believes that the past shapes the present.

Schwartz (1982, 1996a/b/c/, 1997) argues that collective memory is the result of an accumulation of the past and aspects of the present. History includes both continuity and change. Society needs continuity to ensure social cohesion, identity and solidarity (Lowenthal 1985), Schwartz (1991) supports this argument. At the same time collective memory is a reflection of societies' needs, fears, mentality and aspirations at any given time (Schwartz 1996 a/b/c/). According to Schwartz social change can bring about new social and symbolic structures without the necessity to replace the old ones.

Overview

Revisiting this literature will prepare me to answer the research question which was bone out of the data analysis: is it possible that the memories of those who were children at the time of the occupation/evacuation are beginning to replace the memories of the previous generation, due to social and economic changes which have come about over the past fifty years? In other words, is collective memory permanently defined and fixed (Schils 1981; Schudson 1989) or are social and economic changes the catalysts for a new interpretation of public memory? (Halbwachs 1992).

Based on the above literature review I have decided to adopt a narrative approach using a biographical interview and archival data. This approach offers the most appropriate opportunity to integrate the two disciplines of psychology and history and provides the vehicle to enable the child's voice to be heard. Furthermore

narratives have the capacity to challenge the dominant ideology. They do not assume the existence of one narrative. It is a dynamic approach in that it is transforming. It is individualistic and provides for alternative stories so that individuals are not co-opted into identities not of their making. This process of creating alternative narratives empowers individuals by disseminating the power that is invested in the dominant narrative. By providing an opportunity for peripheral voices to be heard another dimension to the Guernsey evacuation/occupation experience story may be added.

A biographical approach will be adopted because it is inclusive. It provides an opportunity for critical evaluation and reflection on the part of the interviewee and it provides an insight into how the individual relates to their own story and others who have roles in their story. Clearly my choice of approach is not without dilemmas especially in relation to ethical issues and these will be addressed in the chapter on methodology.

CHAPTER 3

GUERNSEY'S RECENT HISTORY

Introduction

This chapter is based upon the published personal and official accounts of wartime Guernsey . The content of this chapter attempts to portray how the Guernsey story has been told over the years. Writings are, of necessity, anecdotal and personal for the most part. Many of the Islands' records were lost or destroyed in the confusion of the evacuation, liberation and during the period of reconstruction and afterwards there was little time for looking back or perhaps people preferred not to look back.

At this point it is useful to classify available records of the German Occupation according to types of source, by doing so it may help to determine the reliability of the record or where conflict may exist. It is also possible to trace how stories and anecdotes may have been distorted or embellished.

Generally speaking books written about the occupation and evacuation divide into one of three categories:- primary records; histories and fiction. Primary records such as the documentation from the German authorities and the States of Guernsey (controlling committee) are accurate in that they record directives, but in so far as they are record keeping, it should be remembered that the records show information which was able to be collated and cannot be relied upon as a completely accurate picture. Furthermore, the purposes for which the information was collected may be subject to different priorities to those of the historian.

'The Guernsey Evening Star' newspaper was published throughout the occupation but it was subject to censorship by the German authorities and is therefore not an accurate record. Diaries and letters kept during the period are reliable in that they are first hand accounts but must be treated with caution as they may contain here-say and rumours. Some of these manuscripts would probably have been edited by families prior to publication and therefore were open to distortion, however, it is unlikely that the original manuscripts would have been anything other than true accounts as perceived by their writers who were not aware that decades later they would be published.

Post –war accounts of the occupation have drawn upon notes written at the time or memories and some are autobiographical. These records however, are written from a time distance and therefore their accuracy is more dependant upon the individual author's memory. They are written with hindsight and time may have given greater significance to some events than others and opinions may have mixed with facts, which, does not necessarily always result in an accurate account of events. Key writers in this area include: J.C. Sauvary (1990) *Diary of the German Occupation of Guernsey 1940-1945* – an islander's private diary of his day to day life throughout the occupation which was later published by his family. William Bell (1995) was a policeman and later became an island deputy (equivalent to an Member of Parliament.) His book looks at the history of the islands police force, which includes the occupation period, when for the first time in the history of the British Police Force, the island's police carried out their duties as civilian police. The book also claims to lay to rest the subject of the deportation of the three Jewesses from the island. Another writer of occupational experiences is Beryl Ozanne (1994). She

was a nurse during the occupation and her book provides an insight into life in the health service during the occupation. Frank Falla (1967) was a renowned local journalist with the local newspaper. His book focuses mainly on how he and his fellow journalists coped with the German Authorities censorship. He personally contributed to the underground news sheet but was eventually betrayed and sent to a German prison.

Published personal views of experiencing the occupation or evacuation include M. Mahy (1992) *There is an Occupation*. A personal view of life as a young married couple in occupied Guernsey M. Bihet (1985) *A Child's War*. First published in May 1985, probably to coincide with the fortieth Liberation Day celebrations, this book is a simple account of a nine year olds occupation experience. Olive Quin (1985) wrote her personal account forty years after the Liberation this is a personal account of the evacuation experience. Some books were based on letters and diaries produced during the war these include those of K.M. Bachmann (1972) and Frank Stoobant (1967) who wrote an autobiographical account of life during the occupation. He was deported to an internment camp in 1942 so the latter part of his book relates to life in the internment camp.

Alderney Fortress Island (1981) was written by Major Pantcheff who had relatives who lived in Alderney prior to the occupation although he did not live there. During the war he was an officer for the Military Intelligence and after the Liberation he was the Military Intelligence interrogator who questioned the German garrison, their prisoners and civilian labourers. The book claims to be a composite testimony of those who served or suffered in Alderney.

Histories take the existing sources and attempt to weave them into a connecting narrative that claims to give an accurate picture of the occupation. They frequently draw on interviews with those still living, they may be popular such as A. M. Wood (1976) *Islands in Danger* and C. Toms (1967) *Hitler's Fortress Islands* or academic studies such as C. Cruickshank (1975, 1991) *The German Occupation of the Channel Islands*, the only official history of the Occupation; or a mixture of the two. Madeleine Bunting who is a journalist for the *Guardian* newspaper and has long held a negative view of the behaviour of islanders during the occupation has written articles expounding her opinions in the *Guardian*, she is also the author of *The Model Occupation* (1995; reissued 2004). F. Cohen (2000) *Jews in the Channel Islands During the German Occupation 1940 – 1945* is an academic piece of work which brings to the public's attention aspects about the Jewish situation in both Jersey and Guernsey leading up to and during the occupation.

There are a few fiction based accounts which incorporate and dramatise some true events, but in order to gain popularity they are likely to be embellished and may even distort perceptions of the occupation, therefore they should be treated with caution as sources. T. Binding's (1998) *Island Madness*, is a murder mystery novel based during the occupation. Binding was born in Guernsey in 1947 and now lives in England. R. Blicq (2000) *Au Revoir Sarnia Cherie* is an expatriate's account of life in Guernsey prior to 1940 when he and his family left the Island to live in Canada.

Primary records probably form the largest part of all writings. Many of the books which contain these primary writings carry a forward written by leading figures in the Island such as the Bailiff or a person of high office in the local media or States,

thus suggesting their authenticity and credibility. For example, *I Beg To Report* by W Bell (1995), which is an account of life as a policeman during the occupation carries a forward by Arthur Bailey the Chief of Police between 1977 and 1983. *One Man's War* by F Stroobant (1999), originally published in 1967, contains a forward by Sir Ambrose Sherwill, KBE, M.C. the Island's Bailiff.

Looking through the myriad of literature available, books and newspapers, one thing draws them all together and that is they all have a certain language (content) in common. Words which frequently appear include: resolute, determination (to survive), barbaric, brutal (tyranny), enslavement, struggle, horror, abandonment (by the Crown), emotional dilemmas and heartbreaking farewells. The authors writing the accounts of their experiences are frequently referred to in stoic terms, indignant, undaunted, heroic and strong, whether they be male or female, by those writing the forwards, thus setting the scene for what is to follow. Another interesting factor that many of the books have in common is that they claim to be – “faithful records”, “the first fullest account” or “accurate”.

The official history, not a primary record although it makes use of primary records, written by Dr Cruickshank was first written and published in 1975, thirty years after the end of the occupation. The book fails to mention the “secret” documents in the Guernsey archives, to which Dr Cruickshank was given only limited access, these files are now available for public scrutiny in the States Archives. A further thirty three files were held at the Public Records Office in London. Following growing pressure on the Prime Minister and the Government, twenty six files were released in 1992, the files having been scheduled for retention until 2045. Following their release it was revealed that due to the sensitive nature of the contents some of the

files had experienced 'extraction' of contents for reasons of national security or personal sensitivity. Again this left many questions unanswered and fuelled speculation regarding what went on between 1940 and 1945. It would appear that only when the entire contents of all files are released will suspicions be dealt with and yet even then it is likely that the reliability of the files and their contents will remain in question. It is possible that oral history may make a contribution to the gaps in the knowledge resulting from not releasing the contents of the files.

Dr Cruickshank recorded facts as they were revealed to him by Major Pantcheff, the British Intelligence Officer sent by the War Office after the liberation to investigate allegations of brutality and mass murder. Dr Cruickshank's account of what happened in Alderney, where he states 'at face value the records suggest that the Germans in Alderney were less callous than has been believed' (p204), was based on accounts that were kept by the SS and the Todt Organisation, first commanded by Colonel Maximilian List under whom worked Kurt Klebeck and Karl Theiss who kept records but who were both reprimanded for incompetence. Klebeck was sent to the Russian Front where he committed (more) atrocities for which he was sentenced by a British Military Court in 1947 to 10 years imprisonment. Obviously this leaves the official history open to questions regarding its reliability.

The first examples of writings on the occupation and evacuation occur at the time leading up to the evacuation and occupation and the main disseminator of information was the local newspaper the '*Guernsey Evening Star*'. However, even at this early stage censorship was in place as the Lieutenant Governor forbade the publication of anything that caused alarm and instructed the Press to submit all posters to him prior to publication (Falla 1967). His Majesty King George VI sent a

message to the people of Guernsey but the Bailiff Sir Victor Carey and members of the Controlling Committee did not consider it necessary to inform the people of the contents of the letter. The letter read as follows:-

For strategic reasons it has been necessary to withdraw the armed forces from the Channel Islands. I deeply regret this necessity and I wish to assure my people in the Islands that in taking this decision my Government have not been unmindful of their position. It is in their interests that this step should be taken in the present circumstances. The long association of the Islands with the Crown and the Loyal service the people of the Islands have rendered my ancestors and myself are guarantees that the link between us will remain unbroken, and I know that my people in the Islands will look forward with the same confidence as I do to the day when the resolute fortitude with which we face our present difficulties will reap the reward of victory.

George RI

(Cruickshank 1991 p32.)

The British Government knew the Islands were to be occupied. Had the people of Guernsey received this message it may have firstly helped them make a decision as to whether or not to evacuate and secondly it would have perhaps gone some way to reducing the feeling that the Island had been deserted by the British Government.

According to Frank Falla (1967) by the time of the occupation the Lieutenant Governor had left the Island but censorship continued, this time by the occupying force. On the 1st July 1940 the *Guernsey Evening Star* newspaper (which the press were instructed by the Germans was to be free and issued to all Islanders) went out

with Nazi orders on the front page. The difference between Nazi censorship and British censorship was that in Britain, the banned story was withdrawn before the paper went to print, whereas the Germans only wanted to see the final proof from which they carried out their deletions which then left blanks that had to be filled (Falla 1967). What can be seen from this is that prior to and during the occupation, Islanders were open to propaganda and manipulation by those who controlled censorship.

A lack of information or a lack of timely accurate information was not just limited to the people of Guernsey. We learn from Cruickshank (1991) that the British Government did not communicate the fact that the Islands, had been demilitarised to the Germans. Consequently, in the final days of June 1940, the Luftwaffe dropped bombs on the harbours of both Jersey and Guernsey. It has been suggested that they thought military lorries were gathering at the harbour (Cruickshank 1991). What they actually bombed was the tomato lorries, loaded with produce to be exported to the UK. A total of forty-four people were killed in Guernsey and Jersey. Much to the surprise of the Germans, no responses resulted, as neither Island was defended by the UK. And so within days the Germans arrived to occupy British land. This was the first time in a thousand years that an invading force had occupied British land (Marr 2001). This suggests that the Island, was ill prepared for the invasion and the German intelligence was inaccurate.

Accounts such as Cruickshank 1991; Mahy 1992; Stroobant 1967, if they are to be believed, of the next five years of occupation reveal that whilst harsh, the occupation was not brutal, not that is for the local people. A different type of occupation appears to have taken place in the Island compared with those areas of occupied Europe,

(Cruickshank 1991) . Accounts suggest the German soldiers were disciplined and polite (Mahy 1992; Bell 1995; Sauvary 1990). They were strictly controlled and for most parts were separated, where possible, from the indigenous population, for example, on the beaches and in the cinema. Clearly total separation was not possible because ironically, considering the attempts to segregate the islanders and Germans, many German soldiers were billeted with local families. The local families were not given a choice in the matter.

It could be said that much of what has been written over the past fifty- five years including the books outlined in this chapter, has attempted to justify the behaviour of Islanders following allegations and criticisms about their lack of patriotism and resistance to the Germans. These allegations came, on the whole, from those not occupied (Pascal 2002, Bunting 1995) and their motivations also require consideration. Following the occupation and liberation terms such as collaboration, black marketeering, profiteering and Jerry bag (a term used by locals to refer to women who had formed relationships with German soldiers) were commonplace (Stroobant 1967). Perhaps these terms were used as a defence mechanism or an attempt by the users to disassociate themselves from those considered to be perpetrators of wrong doing whatever the case the existence of the terms has invited questions regarding the Islanders' behaviour.

In present day writing (2005) the theme of collaboration has been replaced by co-operation. It is argued that the only way daily Island life could be organised was through the co-operation of Islanders with the occupying forces (Cruickshank 1991). The point is made that the Germans controlled communication and vital resources and they imported the only supplies. To date published accounts have neglected the

fact that Islanders may have had more power than they realised for the Germans needed the Islanders in order to run the essential services.

Co-operation as opposed to collaboration is much easier when the occupying force is viewed as less aggressive. The Germans were very careful to portray themselves as a benevolent occupying force and this is depicted in the memoirs and stories of those who describe them (Mahy 1992; Cruickshank 1991). Cruickshank goes on to suggest that this was in preparation for the final assault, which would see them occupy British mainland. The argument being that if the English could see how well- treated the Channel Islanders had been they would be more accepting of their new dictator. Cruickshank goes as far as saying that the occupation of the Channel Islands was a trial run for the occupation of the rest of Britain. This is one perspective or attempt to explain why the Germans behaved as they did in the Islands compared with how they behaved in France and other parts of Europe.

Whilst at a superficial level this argument may gain support and acceptance an alternative explanation might be that the Island's constitution was the main reason for the Germans more reasoned approach; this plus the lack of organised resistance by Islanders. The significance of this is that it brings into question the reasons for the behaviour of the German Authorities in the Island compared with their behaviour in other parts of occupied Europe. Perhaps the Germans realised that they needed the co-operation of the Islanders in order to achieve the day to day running of the Island. A German lawyer was brought to the Island to interpret the constitution (Cruickshank 1991). The German High Command looked to apply German concepts of democracy and the authoritarian state to the Islands but found that the Island's constitution did not allow for this.

The question of whether or not Islanders had any choice in whether or not to collaborate or more reasonably co-operate is worthy of consideration. Cruickshank's tone of writing leaves the reader with little doubt that Islanders were left undefended and vulnerable as far as the German assault was concerned. The British Government as far back as 1928 took a decision not to defend the Islands as it was considered too expensive for islands that were of no strategic importance (Marr 2001). In turn the Island authorities took the decision to demilitarise. Given the fact that the majority of young males were evacuated to the UK, the majority to join the armed forces (which incidentally many did not appreciate they were not obliged to do and found themselves steered into queues to enlist on disembarking from their evacuating boats), the Island was left with predominantly a small number of children, women and elderly people unable to travel. A few military aged males remained on the Island due to the fact they were in essential occupations and had been asked to stay on the Island until the last boats, which they either missed or which did not arrive before the Germans.

The British Government kept the demilitarisation of the Islands secret and their handling of the evacuation was so poor that had the people of Britain known what was happening they probably would have had little faith in them to win the war (Cruickshank 1991). This rather suggests that they had not planned the evacuation of the Islands in the same way as they had the evacuation of children from English cities to rural areas which had been planned several years before it needed to be put into operation. Possibly they thought the Islands would not need to evacuate or maybe they did not consider it their responsibility.

In Cruickshank's official account of the occupation The German High Command's strategic weaknesses are also clearly identified. The aim, was to establish the Islands as 'Germany's Gibraltar'. The Islands would be forever German (Cruickshank 1991). It appears not to have occurred to the Germans how little the British Government seemed to value the Islands, so little they were not defended. For Germany the Islands were first and foremost a propaganda coup, their approach to defending them was irrational. Official records state that they tied up a whole infantry division for the whole period of the war along with thousands of tons of steel and concrete in an attempt to fortify the Islands against an attack from the allied forces, which was never to come. With hindsight, such resources would have been more efficiently and effectively used to fortify mainland Europe for the D- Day attack. From the official history it would appear that the Islands eventually became more of a liability than an asset to the German authorities' plans.

The German High Command instructed that two thousand U.K. born Islanders should be deported to German camps (Stroobant 1967; Cruickshank 1991). This policy appears to have confused and mystified both the Island Authorities and the German Authorities and it has been reported that German soldiers apologised to the internees in their camps. Ginns (1994) in 'British Soil Invaded' reports the internment was "not terrible, just bleak and boring" and that the camps inhabitants, under the protection of the Red Cross, were treated in a civil way. He goes on to explain that camp internees were better off than people left in the Islands because they (internees) benefited from Red Cross parcels whereas Islanders saw basic provisions such as food, coal and clothing dwindle to meagre rations as the war progressed.

Churchill also receives implied criticism in the official occupation account. Despite his 'Our dear Channel Islands' speech following the liberation there is little doubt that he was prepared to sacrifice the lives of occupied Islanders. When he heard the German garrison on the Islands was starving to death he wrote 'let them rot'. The significance of this statement is that in condemning the Germans to rot he was attributing the same fate to Islanders who would be forced to rot alongside them (Cruickshank 1991). All of this, of course was unknown to the Islanders who continued to hope for liberation and when the allied forces moved in to France the Islanders were sure it was only a matter of time before they too would be liberated.

It is true that there was no organised resistance in the Islands, not surprising when one considers the number of armed Germans compared with unarmed local elderly women and children on the Island. But that is not to say that the Islanders were completely submissive to the mighty German force. Many of the books that have been written are not official accounts but rather personal accounts of those occupied years. They provide a fascinating insight into the lives of ordinary people living in an extraordinary situation. In Molly Bihet's *There is an Occupation* (1985) accounts are given of ways in which Islanders attempted to deceive the Germans, for example by stealing German petrol for use with farm tractors and keeping pigs for personal use, both of which could result in imprisonment.

The Germans, who objected to the uniforms, brass bands and military titles claiming there was only one army – the German army, closed down the Salvation Army. A young Salvation Army officer – Major Marie Ozanne was visiting her parents on the Island when the Germans arrived. The day after the Germans closed down the

Salvation Army, Major Ozanne stood defiantly outside the Citadel in her uniform with her Bible:

She would walk into Town and read her Bible out loud in the Arcade providing her own open air witness. Eventually her uniform was confiscated but she continued to protest against injustice and cruelty.

(Mahy 1992 p53)

A man was sent to prison for writing V signs on walls and Major Ozanne offered to go to prison in his place. Her offer was declined but eventually she was arrested for continuing to read her Bible in the Arcade and she was imprisoned. Whilst in prison she experienced stomach pains, which were ignored at first and then resulted in her being taken to hospital, where she died of peritonitis aged thirty-seven. After the war Major Ozanne received posthumously the highest award the Salvation Army bestows – ‘the Order of the Founder’ (Mahy 1992).

Other written accounts tell of daring and often successful attempts to leave the Island after the Germans had taken up occupation. They took place at night and usually by small fishing boats (Mahy 1992; Mayne 1975). These accounts provide the escapees with the mantle of heroism describing how against all the odds in inclement weather rough seas and with German flares lighting the night sky, Guernsey men and women won through and achieved the unthinkable. Perhaps these tales have been embellished with the romance of time but there is no doubt that the essential ingredients are factual as accounts show such escapes did take place (Bihet 1985).

Also frequently recorded and acknowledged by virtually all those occupied was the Islanders' defiance with regards to wireless sets (Sanders 1996). Many Islanders built crystal sets in order to stay in touch with what was happening on the mainland. They risked imprisonment or worse by concealing the sets from the Germans but ownership of a set remained commonplace (Mahy 1992). However, lack of news from the UK due to the restrictions put in place by the Germans fuelled rumours, which served to keep nerves and minds on edge. Curfews, set by the Germans for the Islanders, were also covertly challenged and reports claim that sleepovers and visits to neighbours and parties did take place after the curfew (Sauvary 1990).

Accusations of black marketeering and profiteering were made by both locals and Germans alike and it would appear to be fact that both went on throughout the occupation. Records show that in 1942 forty people were prosecuted in Guernsey courts for black marketeering. In 1943 fifty people and in 1944 one hundred people. Black marketeering and profiteering were defined in very broad terms (GF 5/1/8). For example, illegal slaughtering of animals, withholding milk and breaches in price control of fuel. Certainly some people with access to certain desirable commodities such as cigarettes took advantage (when possible) of their situation. To many, money lost its significance in respect to commodities which could save one from starvation.

At the time Guernsey currency had been replaced by German currency, this devalued the local currency especially if the German Occupation were to become permanent consequently barter trading became commonplace and this became a cover for black marketeering (Falla 1967).

In any free market economy where the worth of commodities outweighs the significance of the currency there lies the potential for black marketeering or profiteering. The Channel Islands were not the only place where such activities thrived. Although it is acknowledged (Cruickshank 1991) that the poor or elderly were the ones who would suffer and pay the highest price due to their inability to be part of the system.

It is interesting to observe how personal accounts and second hand telling of stories tend to be written in a very balanced way:

Groups of soldiers would march through the Town singing their rousing German songs. The beauty of their singing would have done justice to any choir but to us it was the most depressing sound in the world.

(Mahy 1992 p20)

It would have been easy to relay stories of the cruelty of the occupying force, and to take the moral high ground but more often than not what has been recounted is the harshness of the German authorities against their own people rather than against Islanders:

Soon after the Germans arrived four soldiers went to a house at L'Ancresse and ordered the woman there to prepare them a cooked meal for 6pm. The lady telephoned the police and was put through to the German Commandant. She was told to serve the meal as requested. At 6pm the soldiers entered and an excellent meal was served. They had just begun eating when the door burst open and the German police strode in. The terrified soldiers were brutally

assaulted before being dragged away. This was an example of German discipline in action. (Mahy 1992 p21)

The notion of a community spirit is also emphasised in most of the books written about the occupation:

There was a friendliness and warmth in people's attitudes toward each other, a caring and sharing of problems, interests and recipes. There was time to get to know people with whom we have previously only exchanged a brief "Good morning".

(Stroobant 1967 p)

Most personal accounts imply good morale and an ever-optimistic nature despite the hardships. Many mourned the loss of things previously taken for granted:

Guernsey was certainly not the same, but the parts of it which remained free to us reminded us of times past and of future hopes.

(Stroobant 1967 p20)

The occupation provided an opportunity for reflection:

We had more time now for thinking than we had ever had in our lives and new thoughts came to us and a new appreciation of our heritage – the beauties of our Island we had grown so accustomed to accept that we scarcely noticed them. Now deprived of many of them we realised what they meant to us for the first time. (Stroobant 1967 p20)

Whilst the tone of the writings by the older generation is reflective and sad there appears to be no noticeable anger or hostility in the accounts, this may psychologically be a symptom of depression or perhaps something akin to a stage in the bereavement process especially if the writings had taken place at the time of the experience, as they were not, perhaps they are the result of a magnanimity that can be afforded if one is a victor.

Prior to the occupation, the Islands remained detached from what was perceived as the 'phoney war'. Even later it was considered to be something which was taking place a long way away. In the early days of the Summer of 1940 reports state that French refugees arrived in the Island having been driven from their homes and yet still it did not occur to the Islanders that the Germans were on their doorstep:

Everyone was so sorry they had been driven from their home but glad they had found refuge in Guernsey (Mahy 1992 p1)

In fact Guernsey and Jersey were still being advertised as the perfect holiday destination for the Summer of 1940:

We were shocked by the German defeat of Poland; we regretted the outbreak of war between England and Hitler's Nazis but apart from shock and regret what was happening in Europe in the Autumn of 1939 seemed of little concern to us, secure in our snug self satisfied Island of Guernsey in the Channel Islands. Why should the machine of war and the machinations of politicians have anything to do with us? We were too small, too easy to

isolate to attract the attention of possible invaders. Besides, the great armies of France and the whole might of the Maginot Line lay between us and England's enemy. Of course we were safe!

(Stroobant 1967 p13)

Within these lines can be seen the humbleness in the belief that the Island was too small to matter and self reproach for the smugness of ignorance but of greater importance is the fact that the writings suggest naivety of the Island regarding what was about to happen.

When the occasion for evacuation did eventually arrive all reports describe chaos and confusion which suggests being taken by surprise and indicates a lack of military intelligence to deal adequately with the situation:

The owner of a shoe shop on the Bridge was throwing footwear on the street for anyone to pick up so that the Germans would not have it. Panic reigned. People gathered in little groups around their front gates should they go? Should they stay?

(Mahy 1992 p2)

So many dogs were taken to the vets to be put down that they could not cope, they gave people the lethal tablets to give to their own pets

(Mahy 1992 p2)

The threat of the invasion seemed to loom nearer but still so much uncertainty, no one knew what to do for the best. We left home around 6am

with gas masks around our necks and small carrier bags with small items of clothing and cash carefully hidden – sewn into our vests. Three times we returned home because my mother was not allowed to travel with the school teachers and children

(Bihet 1985 p8)

In the country the panic was worse than in the Town. Some farmers killed cattle that in the months to come could be ill spared. Some people before abandoning their homes turned their pet animals out of doors to fend for themselves; some with still less humanity left fowls and rabbits shut up without food or water. Some houses were left open, beds unmade and the remains of a hurried morning meal on the table. Other houses were so securely locked that men authorized soon afterwards to collect perishable food from abandoned houses had difficulty in entering. A tobacconist gave away his entire stock before closing his premises and a publican before leaving invited his neighbours to go into his bar and help themselves to the liquor there. Panic is bad enough when the panickers are sober but panic inflamed by drunkenness degenerates into sheer madness (Cruickshank 1991 p50).

Life in Guernsey by 1940 had been comfortable for most (the middle classes and the retired Colonials) with a fairly high standard of living. Leisure time consisted of visits to the cinemas. Repertory theatre and actors and music hall artistes were brought to the Island from the UK. The diet was rich with creamy Guernsey milk, golden butter, freshly grown fruit and vegetables such as tomatoes, cannon hall grapes, figs, asparagus, potatoes and lemons. Fish, winkles, ormers, lobster and crab

were plentiful. The tomato industry provided for the wealth of the Islands with tourism growing in importance. Family picnics on long warm days on the beach with large numbers of one's extended family was an important part of Guernsey culture. Beach cricket, fishing in shallow rock pools, a tea basket of crab to be picked, Guernsey biscuits, (rolls) Guernsey wanders (doughnut like mixture) and tomatoes were part of everyday Guernsey life. Families were close, sometimes geographically but nearly always emotionally. Suddenly freedom of spirit and living off the riches of the land were gone and families were parted and dispatched to different parts of the U.K.

This imagery suggests an Island of good standards of living, close social networks, a rural idyll, an Island of plenty. One would expect such losses to result in venomous attacks upon those who stole them away but on the contrary the writing suggests that even in the depths of despair attempts were made to see the positives in the negatives:

Pre-war 9 hours a day and fifteen hours on Saturdays became 20 hours a week during the occupation. This helped pave the way for post working conditions.

(Stroobant 1967 p28)

One good thing resulted from the Germans stay with us –several of our very dangerous corners vanished and road widening schemes which had been under discussion by the States since the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of Great Britain were completed overnight.

(Stroobant 1967 p23)

It is probably true to say that between the years 1940 and 1945 morality was, in some cases, redefined and confusion existed then over what was and was not acceptable. People often lived for today not knowing if there would be a tomorrow. This attitude was of course not unique to Guernsey:

Old Jack was making the best of a bad job. Someone had seen him out with a 'bit of skirt'. Disloyal? Unfaithful? Who were we to judge?

(Stroobant 1967 p21)

Yet judge they did, hence the unflattering use of the term 'Jerry bag' which can still be heard in certain quarters today.

But when that bit of skirt deserted old Jack and turned Jerry bag, as we called it, we thought it a great shame and then our new tolerance got the better of us and if we didn't know the excuse we invented one – was she imitating Mata Hari? If she only wanted more to eat were we to blame her?

(Stroobant 1967 p22)

Clearly the key words in this writing are 'Jerry bag' which belies the claim of tolerance and 'excuse' which implies an acceptance of a wrong doing and a need to justify it. And how do people account for this straying from the straight and narrow on an Island devout in Catholicism and Methodism?:

A hungry people can be dangerous not only to themselves for when the body is deprived of substance the mind becomes sick and the standard of morale

deteriorates. It says much for the moral strength of the Guernsey-man that he managed to maintain a fairly high standard of morals and morale

(Stroobant 1967 p23)

Written sources are one method of recreating this period but alternative methods have also evolved over the years. Despite the fact that the occupation ended years ago it remains an important part of the Island's history. Tourism was based for many years following the war on the curiosity of those who wished to view first hand the relics of a unique period in history. Even today, although less so, visitors to the Island are invited to visit museums (usually privately owned and run), which contain the remnants from occupied days. However, surprisingly perhaps, there is little organised commercialism of such sites. Attempts to keep the past very much alive are aimed at a more local level. Liberation Day remains a public holiday in the Island with church services, the sounding of sirens and tea parties and tea dances for those who were evacuated or occupied. Occasionally cavalcades take place through the streets of St Peter Port, and every year concerts of military music are organised. To encourage younger members of the community to mark the day fun fairs are brought over from the UK for the week leading up to May 9th and a firework display over Castle Cornet and the harbour concludes the day.

Islanders who experienced the evacuation and occupation are sometimes invited to tell their stories on radio programmes leading up to Liberation Day and throughout the year there is a regular weekly feature in the local newspaper on 'Occupied Guernsey' written by Herbert Winterflood, a retired journalist with the *Guernsey Evening Press*. The articles are written as anecdotes of personal experiences of life

during the occupation and also quote stories presented as news facts in the press at the time they occurred.

Obviously as the years march on the opportunities to hear first hand personal accounts of the period will lessen. States members and the public occasionally voice their concerns regarding how the younger generation can be encouraged to identify with a past that has seemingly little relevance to them, particularly as many are the children of immigrant English families and so the period is less significant as they do not have relatives who were part of the evacuation or occupation. May 9th 2005 will see what is planned to be the last ever cavalcade to celebrate the Liberation. The continuation of tea dances and parties, will no doubt die out in the next five to ten years as will radio interviews of those who were there. The occupation and evacuation is not part of the school curriculum and so it is left to individual schools to build time into their already hectic schedules if they wish this part of Island life to be remembered, there is no united approach to this. The majority of the Island's teachers are not local, may not be familiar with the Island's history themselves and are only here on temporary five year contracts so may not perceive the Island's history to be of high priority. It will be a challenge for the Island to retain its links to its history.

Surprisingly comparatively little in the way of academic work has been written on such an important area of Island history. That which has been published with one or two exceptions has been published within the Island by the Guernsey Press Company. There is one official account and all other books are the personal experiences and compilation of anecdotes of amateur writers who clearly felt the need to tell their stories. Most contain dedications to family members (Stroobant

1967; Bachmann 1972; Mahy 1992; Bihet 1985) and I would suggest are probably intended more for family than the general public and perhaps act more as therapy and are borne from a need to pass on the stories to keep the memory alive.

Much of what has been written to date (as detailed earlier in this chapter) about the occupation and evacuation lacks a scholarly approach. Personal publications as cited throughout this review and as detailed earlier in this chapter, by their very nature, lack representative data which is treated in an objective way and this leaves the subject vulnerable to exploitation and polemics.

There is an abundance of material in private archives, collections, diaries and official documents in public archives but on the whole, the way this material has (or has not) been collated and presented leaves the island relying on uncorroborated anecdotal and individualistic personal accounts of those important years in the Islands history. This research is an academic attempt to overcome these pitfalls in that it attempts to treat the data in an objective way and applies research ethics to its formulation. (See Methodology chapter 5)

Conclusion

As stated at the commencement of this chapter, the literature available to date appears to divide into three camps, primary records, history and fiction, between these three camps there exists a gulf of misunderstanding and lack of tolerance.

History as discussed in the memory chapter of this thesis, evolves over time.

Historical knowledge is the result of argument and counter argument and time, which brings with it the luxury of objectivity yet relies on memory. Facts are open to interpretation and perception and not all facts have equal worth at any given time.

Many of the publications that relate to the Channel Islands occupation do not discriminate between relevant and irrelevant facts. Perhaps in an attempt to avoid dry analysis too much emphasis is placed on the anecdotal or perhaps from the point of marketing the Island's anecdotal writing is more palatable to the audience. However despite this the anecdotal often tell the same stories and confirm each other thus giving greater credence to the stories. What the existing accounts do not do is provide answers to the research questions posed in this thesis. This is in part due to the fact that they are not academic works but rather individual personal accounts and partly because they were written with a different purpose in mind.

Clearly time is marching on and our most important source of data now is oral testimony, however this is becoming harder to obtain and each year that passes means the irretrievable loss of more pages of history. The oral testimonies available for collection are those of the 'children' their insight of the time is naturally very different to that of the 'parents' but despite this they are no less valid and it is largely to them we look for the present view of history.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

PART A – PRE OCCUPATION

Whilst many sources have been used for this chapter James Marr's (2001) book was the main source used for information on trade in the Island

Berger and Luckman (1966) suggest that identity is a social process that reacts upon the social structure, maintaining it, modifying it and reshaping it and that this framework offers a link between studying the individual and an understanding of larger social realities. In other words to understand the individual one needs to understand the context of the world he lives in.

Schils (1981) and Lowenthal (1985) state that the past is part of the present and that no individual generation creates all of what it is or what constitutes it, what we have and are, has been handed down. Schudson (1989) believes the present shapes our understanding of the past and the past shapes the present. It is for both of these reasons that I have included an outline of the social, political and economic context of the Island pre, during and post evacuation and occupation period. It should be remembered that although the experiences took place over fifty years ago they are being recounted within a totally different social, political and economic context.

An holistic approach to life in Guernsey has been adopted and for the purpose of this research this will entail examining the following aspects of life: health; religion; trade; education and social life. These aspects of life will be looked at consistently not only with regard to the pre occupation period but also during the occupation and

post occupation in order to demonstrate the differences between the periods and to explore whether or not Guernsey suffered long term due to the evacuation and occupation.

Health

At the turn of the twentieth century Guernsey was not the healthy rural community one might imagine. Deaths from infectious diseases were common, infant mortality was high. In 1900 the infant death rate for the parish of St Sampson was 224 per 1000 live births, almost one child in four died before their first birthday (100th Annual MOH Report 1998/1999). Infant mortality in some regions of Europe had been declining since the 1840s. In France, Sweden and England in the eighteenth century infant deaths of 200 to 300 per thousand were recorded, by the turn of the century they were nearer 150 per 1000 births (Millward & Bell 1999). However this trend was halted and reversed in areas experiencing the worst blights of rapid urbanisation so that the undisputed long- term decline is commonly put at the beginning of the twentieth century. Similar turning points have been observed in the Southern German States, Austria and Russia (Vallin 1991; Szreter & Mooney 1998). Guernsey it appears did not follow this trend. When compared to thirty- two towns in the UK it can be seen that the Guernsey figure of 224 deaths per thousand births is exceedingly high (see over page).

Infant Mortality Rates per 1000 Births Excluding Diarrhoea.

Yr	Textiles	Ports	Mining	Mixed Industry	Seaside	Farm	Rest	
1895	156	154	158	158	123	102	126	
1905	130	127	133	133	99	87	109	

Key Towns Used:

- Textiles – Bradford, Leeds, Preston
- Ports - Bristol, Liverpool, Plymouth, Sunderland, Swansea, Southampton
- Mining/ - Wrexham, St Helens, Stoke
- Glass/ pottery
- Mixed Industry- Doncaster, Leicester, Manchester, Nottingham
- Seaside - Blackpool, Hastings, Ramsgate
- Farming - Gt Torrington, Lincoln, Marlborough, Shaftsbury, Thetford
- Rest - Carlisle, Carmarthern, Luton, Northampton, Norwich, Richmond
(York) Wolverhampton, York

(Sources Annual, Decennial Reports of the Registrar General 2000)

At the turn of the century there was an increase in infant deaths in the UK, due to diarrhoea, the reasons attributed to this was the combination of several hot dry summers and the transportation of goods using horses which led to manure and flies in residential areas (Morgan 1999; Huck 1994; 1997; Woods 1988). Even if these figures are compared with those of Guernsey’s the Guernsey infant mortality rates are still higher.

Infant Mortality Rates per 1000 Births Including Diarrhoea

Yr	Textiles	Ports	Mining	Mixed Industry	Seaside	Farm	Rest
1895	187	175	177	191	143	110	152
1905	152	146	151	161	112	92	124

(P Huck 1994)

Life expectancy in Guernsey in 1901 was 36.5 years -mean age based on male and female combined, (*Millennium Life Expectancy Project 2000*). The most significant cause of death at this time was infectious diseases with the death rate being 150 per 1000. The Great White Plague (tuberculosis) accounted for one in every six deaths in 1903. According to the Medical Officer of Health for Guernsey at that time tuberculosis under ideal conditions was preventable. He attributed the disease to:

Overcrowding, intemperance, deficiency of food, dampness of houses and soil, insufficient and in pure air, exposure to rapid alterations of temperature, sedentary occupations, especially those requiring cramped positions and as a sequel to other illnesses.... the filthy habit of indiscriminate spitting should be prohibited by law as is now done in other places.

(100th Annual MOH Report 1998/1999).

In 1901 there were 13400 children under the age of fifteen in Guernsey in a population of 40446. Lack of access to medical services meant many had bodily impairments such as poor eyesight and hearing and under nourishment was common. Contagious diseases, such as measles, scarlet fever and diphtheria were frequent. In fact it was due to an outbreak of diphtheria in 1899 that the Board of Health first

came into being. Until the Second World War there were periodic outbreaks of diphtheria, in 1903 there were just under two hundred notified cases and in 1921, three hundred cases (total population 20339) The worst outbreak came in 1938 when there were four hundred and eight nine notified cases and fourteen deaths (total population 43820). At this time only 50 per cent of the children were taking advantage of the then, voluntary immunisation (100th Annual MOH Report 1998/1999).

When diphtheria is not prevalent it is very difficult to persuade parents to have their children inoculated, but to prevent future epidemics of this disease it is essential to maintain a high percentage of inoculated children, and in my opinion this can only be effected by some sort of compulsion

(100th Annual MOH Report 1998/1999).

In 1938 the States of Guernsey passed legislation which made it law that all children over the age of two and under the age of ten be inoculated against diphtheria. It was hoped that the vaccination would be as successful as the smallpox vaccinations had been when it was introduced in 1896. From April 1938 until the start of the war in 1939 3000 inoculations were given, but the start of the war meant the programme was postponed until 1949, (100th Annual MOH Report 1998/1999).

Compulsory education was introduced in Guernsey in 1901 for all children between the ages of five and thirteen. Children mixed more thereby increasing the risks of contagious diseases. In 1920 and 1936 several schools closed due to epidemics of measles. However, despite this, between 1900 and the occupation there had been a great improvement in the health of children which had arisen partly due to advances

in medical science and partly as a result of better standards of living. A number of public health policies were implemented including health education, the promotion of breast -feeding, the appointment of health visitors and the introduction of immunisation against common childhood infections. However, by 1926 Guernsey had fallen behind England in that it had no Schools Medical Officer or medical service. In 1927 two part time schools nurses were appointed and in 1933 a Schools Medical Officer was appointed. The poor physical condition of a large number of children caused the Education Council (elected politicians equivalent to departmental ministers in the UK) concern and in 1935 a, milk in schools, scheme was introduced by the Education Authority (those employed to manage education in the Island, civil servants.) Every school child was entitled to a third of a pint of milk a day and those who could afford it paid half a penny a day, those who could not, received the milk allowance free of charge. Weighing machines were placed in schools to monitor the weight gain of children, (100th Annual MOH Report 1998/1999).

Religion

By the nineteenth century Methodism and Roman Catholicism had established themselves in Guernsey. Methodism first appeared in Guernsey in 1785 when Islanders who had been involved in the Newfoundland cod fisheries returned home bringing their new found faith with them (Marr 2001). In 1787 John Wesley visited the Island and preached in the Assembly Rooms, now the Guilles- Alles Library. This visit had a profound influence on the Islanders and Methodism started to grow despite years of persecution because of their strict observance of the Sabbath and their refusal to take part in the Sunday drills of the Guernsey Militia, even in times of war (Stevens-Cox 1999). The growth of Methodism paved the way for establishing other non- conformist creeds and by 1939 virtually all sects were represented in the

Bailiwick. In 1810 the Congregationalist Church arrived, in 1827 the Baptists arrived, Brethren arrived in 1835, the Presbyterians, extinct since 1674, re emerged in 1852. The Salvation Army moved into Clifton Hall in 1881 and by 1911 the Pentecostalists had established their presence. The Jehovah's Witness movement met on a weekly basis from 1926 (Marr 2001).

Roman Catholicism was obliterated in the Islands prior to the French Revolution. Catholics were not openly worshipping in the Islands by the end of the seventeenth century. Following the French Revolution Guernsey accepted Catholics into the Island with a great deal of empathy. Temporary accommodation was built for them and French priests soon fled to the Island in large numbers (Marr 2001).

The first Roman Catholic Church was a chapel in Le Bordage, St Peter Port.

By 1829 a new Roman Catholic Church had been built at Burnt Lane and twenty years later a further church was built less than a mile away at St Josephs (McCormack 1986). Throughout the twentieth century Roman Catholic religious orders became prominent in both education and health throughout the Bailiwick.

Trade

Throughout the centuries Guernsey relied on numerous trades and activities on which to base its economy. From medieval times until the sixteenth century a subsistence agriculture was supplemented by the fishing trade and wine trafficking, with St Peter Port being strategically placed between Gascony and England, the Island formed a vital link. During the seventeenth century knitted garments formed the staple trade whilst in the eighteenth century privateering and smuggling became the order of the day and tales still abound about the South Coasts smugglers caves. By the nineteenth

century the Island had turned its attention to shipbuilding, quarrying and cattle farming. In the twentieth century horticulture, with emphasis on tomatoes, grapes, and flowers became established and a lucrative tourist industry evolved (Marr 2001).

Agriculture

Guernsey has, in the past, been famous for the produce it has grown and exported but whilst it is true that the Island benefits from warm summers and mild winters with a rainfall of approximately 37 inches per year, an annual total of sunshine of 1800 hours and mean temperature of 10c, the Island has not been blessed with the most fertile of soil, however generations of layering cow manure and vraic (seaweed) on the soil have led to healthy yields (Marr 2001).

During the eighteenth century when all local efforts were diverted to privateering, agricultural pursuits died out, however they were given new life after the Napoleonic Wars when parsnips, wheat and potatoes were the main crops. Farmers benefited greatly financially by being able to export freely into the U.K. during the first half of the nineteenth century but following the Repeal of the Corn Laws this trade died. Since this time Guernsey has never been self-supporting in grain. Even wheat growing in Sark declined when the Island found it could not compete with the low priced imports from North America.

Prior to the war and after the war up until the nineteen seventies artificial fertilisers and steam sterilisation further aided the soils productivity. Guernsey has never been able to support itself from its land, it even imported wheat from Sark. When cider became the staple drink of the Islands, much agricultural land was lost to apple orchards.

During the First and Second World Wars the potato industry also suffered due to the Colorado beetle, the response of the States was to spray crops. Grass now became the main crop taking up half the cultivable land area. By the 1930s grain cultivation had declined considerably and only 933 verges (377.88 English acres) were under wheat, barley and oats (Marr 2001).

Horticulture

Horticulture first arrived in Guernsey in 1793 when a green house in which to grow grapes and pineapples was built by the States in Candie Gardens. During the nineteenth century grapes became the main produce exported from the Island. Melons were also grown and exported to London, as were figs and peaches. In 1860 tomatoes were grown, the seeds being imported from America. By the end of the nineteenth century the greenhouse industry was booming, this was partially due to the mildness of the climate. Flowers were also grown and exported to Covent Garden. A number of companies were set up to deal with the increasing exportation of greenhouse grown crops. The Guernsey Growers' Mutual Improvement Association was set up in the interwar years to provide support and education on growing problems and issues. Also during this period tomatoes took over as the main exportation crop and by the start of the Second World War, 2240 verges (907 acres) were under glasshouses. Artificial fertilizers were used to increase the yield of crops and the soil was sterilised via steaming to lessen the chance of diseases. The growth in exporting tomatoes was matched by the decline in exporting grapes, this was partly due to competition with grapes imported into the U.K. from other countries. Those who had previously been employed in the grape growing industry which was more labour intensive and required greater skill than tomato growing found new

employment in the box factories that were set up to provide containers for the exported produce (Marr 2001).

Clearly from the above it can be seen that Guernsey has never been self sufficient and the Island needed transport links to both France and the U.K. in order for the people to maintain the basics of life.

Fishing

Fishing was an important occupation to Guernsey from the earliest times and remains (at the time of writing) the oldest industry in the Bailiwick. Trading originally took place in conger eel and mackerel to French markets but by the seventeenth century demand had dried up. From the eighteenth century Guernsey was involved in the Newfoundland Cod Industry. The trade involved boats being fitted out in the Islands, sailing to Newfoundland selling the catch to Catholic countries for fast days and then returning home with sundry cargoes which were then sold on.

By the twentieth century there had been a decline in the economic importance of fishing, however many people continued to fish for their own personal requirements to supplement their diets and incomes and fish and in particular spider and chancre crabs continued to be popular everyday food for local families (Marr 2001).

Quarrying

Guernsey blue granite is an extremely durable stone and this was recognised in the nineteenth century when it was quarried and exported to London and the South East of England where it was used for roads and kerbs, granite sets and masonry. London

Bridge and the Thames Embankment both consist of a great deal of blue Guernsey granite.

In 1810, 2000 tons were exported by 1854 this had risen to 120000 tons a year and by 1910 this had further risen to 458000 tons. Such increases were good for the Island's economy and as most of the quarrying took place in the North of the Island. The population in this area doubled over a thirty- year period (between 1880 – 1910). During the interwar years however, there was a decline in the amount of granite exported but still quarrying made a substantial contribution to the Island's economy up until the Second World War and in 1933 there were 268 quarries in operation. (De Lisle 1975)

Tourism

Tourism in Guernsey (and Jersey) first began as far back as just after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 when retired naval and army officers made the Island(s) their retirement home and were then visited by family and friends. After the mid nineteenth century attack from enemy vessels was less likely in the Channel and improved communications further enhanced the appeal of the Islands. By the turn of the twentieth century tourism had received the backing of the States of Guernsey as they set up a committee to advertise the delights of the Island. By 1913, 50000 tourists a year were visiting the Island from England alone. Air travel which arrived during the interwar years made the Island more accessible and by the 1930s arrivals averaged 45000, lower than 1913 but this was a period of high unemployment and economic recession. Although there were hotels of a high calibre on the Island such as The Royal Hotel (frequented by the Royal Family) and Old Government Hotel

(formally the Governor of the Islands residence) the majority of visitors stayed in guesthouses throughout the Island, of which there were many (Marr 2001).

Finance

Income tax did not come into existence in Guernsey until after the First World War, its arrival was a response to the need to fund the Empire's War expenses. At the time tax was set at 2.9 per cent. By the Second World War tax was still at the very reasonable rate of 4 per cent. Islanders were responsible for paying their own tax on a previous years income basis. This favourably low tax rate coupled with a unique political constitution (as outlined in Part B of this chapter) was to provide the Island with its post war tax system which would lead to the establishment of a new and extremely lucrative industry for the Island in the last two decades of the twentieth century (Marr 2001), (see Part C of this chapter).

Education

The first school to be established in the Island was in 1513 when a property was given to St Peter Port by Mr Le Marquant to be used as a parish school. In 1563 La Grande Ecole was built which later became known as Elizabeth College. Further schools followed at St Pierre du Bois and St Martins. The Vale School was probably in existence by 1615. After the Restoration and the imposition of Anglicanism the Catel School and St Saviours School came into being. The Churches took the lead in providing education to the local population in the early nineteenth century. In 1883 and 1895 two Intermediate Schools were founded one for girls and one for boys. These Intermediate Schools continued to exist up until after the Second World War. The Intermediate Schools (the equivalent of Grammar Schools) prepared their students for lives in commerce.

Elizabeth College had a Royal Foundation and remains Guernsey's only public school for boys, its counterpart for girls, the Ladies College was established to emulate the Cheltenham Ladies College and was formed by Rev Sidebotham and Mrs F Mann joint secretaries of the Guernsey Ladies' Educational Guild, by issuing two hundred shares of five pounds each in 1872. The School continued to be run by the Guild throughout the occupation (Buckfield 1965).

Prior to the Occupation and Evacuation the parish schools were run as elementary schools and educated children to enter the ranks of hired labour and manual work. The Intermediate Schools provided education that would enable students to enter industry and commerce and the two colleges prepared their students for the professions and university. Students from affluent families were able to gain entry to the Colleges and Intermediate Schools by fee paying.

The Roman Catholic Church has long since been active in providing education in the Island, and a number of private schools were run by various orders of monks and nuns. The Sisters of Mercy set up an infant school and elementary school at Cordier Hill in 1868. They were followed by the Sisters of Notre Dame des Chenes who set up an elementary school in Burnt Lane. In 1902 Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus established a girl's secondary school at Blanchelande in St Martins. Further Catholic schools were established at La Chaumiere in the Catel, St Magloire at L'Islet and Les Cotils in St Peter Port. 1904 saw the arrival of De La Salle Christian Brothers who acquired property at Vimiera (now St Pierre Park Hotel) and Les Vauxbelets (now the new home of Blanchelande Girls College). The latter provided a large boys

secondary school from 1906 until 1953. Finally in 1919 Hospitaller Sisters of the Sacred Heart set up Le Platon Nursing and Geriatric Home (McCormack 1986).

From the above it can be seen that the Churches have been foremost in providing education in the Island. Consequently the basis of the curriculum and the Island's culture would have been influenced by the Church. Unlike the U.K. where children were evacuated to, many local schools had a strong Catholic influence.

Social Interactions and Leisure Activities

For a small Island Guernsey provided for a wide array of social activities prior to the Occupation. Guernsey's first theatre was opened in 1775 (La Comedie). It was followed in 1793 by a second theatre, the Theatre Royal, which was eventually demolished in the twentieth century so that an extension could be built on to the Royal Court. A third theatre was built in 1870, St Julian's Theatre and this continued to provide stage productions until 1931 when it was re- equipped as the Gaumont Cinema. The period between the First and Second World Wars was the era of the cinema and in Guernsey there were as many as six separate cinemas operating, the largest of these being the Odeon cinema which had not only a Compton organ but also a car park thus indicating the emergence of a wealthier clientele. At this time Guernsey received films shortly after they were released and consequently this encouraged support for the cinemas. The Palace Theatre continued to provide entertainment with a resident repertory company throughout the 1930s. The Guernsey Amateur Dramatic Society and the Guernsey Operatic Society were also active during this period and performed at St George's Hall or the Lyric Theatre, later to be known as the Little Theatre (Marr 2001).

Home grown talent was encouraged to participate in the Channel Island Eisteddfods, a festival of music, verse and the arts, which was first instigated in 1921. The Guille-Alles Choral and Orchestral Association gave regular performances at St Georges Hall, which increased the popularity of secular music and oratorios for over thirty years. The 1930s also saw visits to the Island of stringed orchestras and brass bands. The Island also had its own military brass bands due to the Guernsey Militia and the garrison that was based on the Island, in fact brass bands became so popular that a bandstand was built in Candie Gardens to accommodate their performances and locals would spend Sunday evenings walking through the gardens at Candie listening to the bands. St Georges Hall provided a home for a variety of different social activities. It opened Christmas Eve 1909 and catered for roller skaters until the first - world war (Manning 1995). It also provided a venue for boxing (Torode 1996).

Prior to the occupation and evacuation the Church and the extended family played an important role in social life. The Vale Methodist Church, as were so many Island churches, was very active with a large Sunday School. Sometimes churches put on concerts. Social hours were part of church life when people gathered together and entertained each other with stories and musical items (Mahy 1992). L'Islet Salvation Army held social get-togethers on beaches around the Island in the Summer. On Thursdays those who attended would swim and picnic. Women's weekly meetings were also held at a number of churches, when guest speakers would be invited to address those who chose to attend.

Sporting facilities were in evidence prior to the war. The Vale Recreation Club provided for football, badminton, table tennis, netball and lawn tennis were all important pastimes. Fishing for recreational and practical purposes was popular and

many islanders owned or had access to a small boat from which they fished or took the family on trips to nearby Herm Island. Swimming, not surprisingly for an Island surrounded by water, was a regular past-time and many children spent hours on the beaches swimming and exploring rock pools and collecting winkles and limpets for tea, often unaccompanied by parents who knew where they were and saw no danger in beach life. One sport that was common with some before the war but ceased even before the Island was occupied, was shooting birds and rabbits (Bihet 1985). All firearms were collected by the Island Authorities prior to the start of the Occupation in 1940 on the recommendation of the British Government.

As far as folk festivals were concerned traditional jollifications which enshrined the culture of Islanders were curtailed by the regime of the Calvinists in the mid Seventeenth Century. La Chevauchee was obliterated as were traditional dances such as La Berouaises, La Violette and La Bebee. May Day was celebrated by school children dressing up and dancing round may poles. Les Brandons a circular dance involving repeated kissing and culminating in the lighting and waving of firebrands survived, it traditionally took place on the first Sunday in Lent. Milk –a –punch Sunday still survives in the Bailiwick of Guernsey. This is actually an Alderney tradition where the public houses serve rum punch free to all customers in memory of the previous tradition whereby one was free to milk the first cow one saw on the first Sunday in May and free to gather eggs from the first hen seen that day to make a rum punch.

Annual shows and regattas also provided opportunities for Islanders to meet up and socialise. St Peter Port held a Harbour Regatta as did St Sampson's Harbour known as the North Regatta (both still take place today) The Battle of Flowers, Fur &

Feather shows for pigeons, covies and rabbits were popular, a cattle fair and cattle show took place at the Bordage Yard and the Guernsey Races were considered an important annual event and were held at L'Ancrese Common, the event also included sideshows, a live aunt Sally, roulette and itinerant merchants selling all kinds of knick knacks. In the evenings thousands made their way from the common back to St Peter Port where the entertainment continued at Candie Gardens; Les Terres Gardens and St Julian's Hall (Coysh and Toms 1978; Machon 1985).

Costume bazaars were held at Saumarez Park to raise money for the Guernsey Benefices Augmentation Fund which helped clergy with small incomes – In 1908 themed scale models of buildings in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland were displayed and women and girls dressed according to the themes. A further annual event which continues today was the Sarnia Arts and Crafts Club Exhibition.

Prior to the war some Islanders, mostly the wealthy middle class, left the Island to visit the U.K. on holidays; however, many locals never left the Island at all, not even to travel to Herm Island (a small Island – three miles long, part of the Bailiwick and three miles off Guernsey which is reached by ferry or fishing boat).

The significance of this section is to illustrate how Guernsey has remained flexible and adaptable in terms of its economic survival. It was rural in nature with an emphasis on fishing and horticulture although tourism was by the start of the Second World War an increasingly important industry to the island. The Island was also heavily influenced by religion in particular Methodism and Catholicism and this had an impact on education in the Island. Parents were required to pay fees if they wished their children to obtain an education that would lead into something other than

manual labour. These same children who had been attending private Catholic schools on the Island were educated in non fee paying, non Catholic and much larger Local Education Authority Schools in the U.K. As in many other respects this would be a significant contrast for those who were evacuated.

An examination of Guernsey's economy also reveals that Guernsey was very vulnerable in that it has never been self sufficient and has always been dependent upon good trade links with the UK and France in order to survive. Clearly when occupied by the Germans the survival of Islanders and indeed Occupiers was threatened because trade links with the Continent and the U.K. were severed and the basic necessities of life were no longer imported and the Island was unable to provide for itself. The above also provides an insight into the culture that prevailed at the time. The health of Islanders had improved considerably from the start of the century up until the occupation. There was a strong sense of community spirit, religion played a significant part in everyday life and the Island benefited from a full and rich social calendar.

Guernsey's Constitution and Administration Leading up to the Occupation.

In order to understand the political, social and economic backdrop against which the occupation and evacuation was played out it is important to examine the context of these factors. For this part of this chapter I will be using as my main source *A Guide to the Constitution of Guernsey* by D. Ehmann (1976).

The significance of the constitution of Guernsey rests in the fact that it is both complex and unwritten. The areas in which the Crown and the States legislate have been clearly established by many years of precedent. The Germans did not

understand the constitution, they did not realise that the Island was and remains a virtually independent democracy. Islanders in 1939 (and still today) do not recognise the United Kingdom Parliament as an authority responsible for decisions on their domestic affairs. This lack of accountability to the U.K. Government and separate existence from the U.K. meant the Germans did not have the influence or the effect on the U.K. Government that they thought they would have by invading part of British soil. The lack of strategic importance of the Islands and the U.K.'s decision not to defend them also lessened the significance of the invasion.

The right of the German Government to rule derived from the military occupation but the Islanders submitted to the will of the occupying authority by registering German orders in the Royal Courts. Neither Bailiwick (Guernsey or Jersey) signed a document to surrender; both owed allegiance to the British Crown.

Guernsey then as now was neither a sovereign state nor a part of the United Kingdom. Guernsey has for eight hundred years been part of Her Majesty's possessions with an independent legislative judiciary and an executive of committees answerable solely to the legislature and not to any authority outside of the Island. Acts of Parliament of the U.K. were and remain only applicable to Guernsey if they directly affect Guernsey. The constitutional convention recognised that the UK Government only legislates for the Island in matters such as defence, nationality, extradition and broadcasting, and only then after consultation with the States of Deliberation (the Islands Government).

In 1923 the British Government demanded from both Guernsey and Jersey six hundred thousand pounds per annum as an annual contribution to the Imperial

Exchequer. The money was to pay for Imperial Defence. The demand was unconstitutional and contrary to the Island's Charters; it amounted to taxation, which is contrary to the Island's fiscal autonomy. The Privy Council later reduced the contribution to seventy five thousand pounds, which Guernsey agreed to pay on condition it was accepted as a once and for all gift. The independence of the Islands from the Crown remained intact (Cruickshank 1991).

The Channel Island's connection with the UK originates from being part of the Duchy of Normandy whose Duke became William I of England. His heirs remain the sovereign power. The sovereign retains the power to legislate for the Island in the form of 'Prerogative Orders in Council'. The Island has always been governed by the States of Deliberation. Locally the term 'States' refers not only to the government but also to the different departments or committees. Guernsey law originated (and continues to originate) from States Committees in the form of a 'Projet de Loi', which after being presented to the States of Deliberation, if passed, sanctioned by the Queen in Council and registered in the Royal court became law in the Island. The States of Deliberation also exercised legislative power through the Ordinances. The power of the States in this area originated from common law power bequeathed upon the Islands by the Duke of Normandy. The States of Deliberation has always been the Islands parliament and legislative assembly.

Prior to the 1948 Reform (Guernsey) Law the States of Deliberation consisted of twelve Jurats (Lawyers), these were not elected by the people but rather elected by the electoral college which was made up of the Bailiff, Law Officers, Jurats, Rectors, Constables, Deputies and Douzeniers.

The Bailiff, who as the President of the States of Deliberation, was appointed by the Crown, had to be of Guernsey birth and to the present day has always been a male and an advocate (lawyer). The Bailiff has a vote. H.M. Procureur and H.M. The Comptrollers were both appointed by the Crown, they acted as lawyers for the States and drafted laws agreed by the States of Deliberation. An Elector was and is any Guernsey resident whose name is on the register of electors (electoral roll). One had to be eighteen years or over to be inscribed on the electoral roll. Anyone over the age of twenty could be nominated for election as a people's deputy provided they had been resident in the Island for one year immediately prior to nomination. A person could not, however, stand for deputy if they were employed to work in any States department. Elections were held every three years in April. There were ten electoral districts (parishes) each parish was guaranteed at least one People's Deputy. The remaining seats were distributed according to the size and population of each parish. This system was periodically reviewed to take into account the housing development in each parish.

Each parish also had an elected Douzaine that is made up of douzeniers. The function of the Douzaine and the Douzeniers was to ensure that the duties, for which the parish was legally responsible, were carried out. Meetings were held (some open to parishioners) to discuss items on the Billet D'Etat (agenda for the States of Deliberation) so that the representative of the Douzaine, who attended the States of Deliberation, could express the views of the parish. Douzeniers were elected for a maximum six-year period. To ensure continuity the term of office of two or more Douzeniers expired each year and elections were held to find their replacements. Only people resident in the parish and who were on the electoral roll were eligible

for election. Each Douzaine had a senior and a junior Douzenier. The senior Douzenier was known as the Dean of the Douzaine.

In addition to the Douzeniers each parish had two constables. They did not have to be on the electoral roll but they were still elected by parishioners. Constables served for up to three years. It was the constable's duty to enforce parochial law, collect parish taxes, issue parish notices and take responsibility for the parish accounts. There was a junior and senior constable but both had equal power and authority, the junior was the understudy to the senior.

The parishes also had two Procureurs of the Poor (junior and senior). They were responsible for providing money, food, clothing and fuel vouchers to those in need in the parish. The Procureurs worked with the Outdoor Assistance Board and the Public Assistance Authority. Anyone over the age of twenty could be nominated as a Procureur with or without their consent and were obliged to serve if elected for two years.

A lawyer sent from Germany to the Island in July 1940, claimed it was difficult to understand the constitutional position in Guernsey. The usual German concepts of democracy and authoritarian state did not fit. 'Representation and government are scarcely to be differentiated..... one must go back to the conditions of the middle ages, the concepts of fief, court leet, feudal lord and feudal tenant, in order to understand the constitutional position which remains feudal into the twentieth century'. (NG 01/3).

Administration

The various States Committees (of which there were many), known as boards, authority or council, dealt with the day to day functioning of the Islands Government. Each committee had a mandate setting out their duties and obligations and these were registered at the Greffe (A States building where copies of Island laws were lodged along with registers for births, marriages and deaths, records of property transactions and conveyances). Most of the members of the committees had seats in the Island's Government (States of Deliberation). These committees, which could be temporary or permanent, were formed at meetings of the States of Deliberation and they acted for the States of Guernsey. The committees were responsible for the policies but civil servants implemented the policies. Civil servants were salaried and served the committees they were allocated to. The Committees senior civil servant had the title of Chief Executive; a Deputy Chief Executive supported him. Not all States employees were civil servants; nurses, teachers and manual workers were not civil servants. The main committees included Advisory and Finance, Board of Administration, Island Development Committee, Health, Education, Traffic and Tourism. Advisory and Finance were responsible for the economic and fiscal policy and co-ordinated all projects (capital) that went before the States. The Advisory and Finance Committee was the Island's exchequer. The Board of Administration was responsible for harbours, airports, customs and immigration, parks and gardens, sewage disposal and waste recycling. The Island Development Committee (IDC) was responsible for planning land use and controlling the built environment. All new building work or changes to existing buildings required permission from the IDC.

Parish administration was limited. The parishes derived their incomes from the occupier's rates, which were based on the rateable value of property. To collect rates

annually the parish had to apply to the Royal Court for permission. The parish had to also publish in the Official Gazette how they intended to spend the monies collected. The Royal Court could delete items it felt inappropriate. Other administrative duties carried out by the parish through the Douzaine included the issuing of licences for dogs and guns. Parish positions other than fulltime or part time clerical assistants were unpaid.

The administrations were to continue throughout the occupation as they had prior to it except new laws had to be submitted to the German Kommandant. Legislation requiring the sanction of the King in Council had to be approved by the Kommandant and the Bailiff. All German orders had to be registered so that Islanders could not plead ignorance of them. The Island courts continued but offences against German military law were tried by German courts. No German could appear before an Island court (Cruickshank 1991).

PART B - THE OCCUPATION PERIOD

In order to appreciate the timing of events outlined in this section a timeline can be found in appendix B.

Political Constitution During The Occupation

The Bailiff of Guernsey and the States had (still have) cart- blanche regarding the conduct of the Bailiwick's affairs. By the outbreak of World War II elected personnel dominated all the Bailiwicks governing bodies (see Part A) with the exception of Sark, which has retained its roots in the Feudal system to this day.

During 1940 to 1945 the Bailiff and the States remained the official government of the Bailiwick but unanimously agreed on 25th June 1940 to delegate their powers to a controlling committee made up of eight members under the presidency of H.M. Procureur Major Sherwill and later Jurat Leale (Cruickshank 1991).

Following the invasion permission had to be sought before the National Anthem could be played or sung, new laws had to be submitted to the German Kommandant and legislation that previously needed the sanction of the King in council had to be approved by the Kommandant and the Bailiff. German orders had to be registered so that no one could plead ignorance of them. The Island courts continued but offences against German military law were tried by German courts (Cruickshank 1991).

According to Cruickshank (1991) Hitler believed that the Islands were unwilling British Colonies and would more readily relate to France for administrative purposes.

Oberst Schmundt, Hitler's Wehrmacht adjutant, in October 1941 stated that the Islands had had their own constitution since 1204 when they were separated from Normandy and that they considered themselves neither English nor French but as British subjects of the Duke of Normandy, the King of Britain and part of the empire (Cruickshank 1991).

This is the background, which the military government of Germany had to deal with during the occupation period and accordingly they had to take the above into account when dealing with Islanders.

Administration

On the 19th June 1940, days before the invasion, it was announced in the local newspaper that children of school age, younger children accompanied by their mothers, men of military age and all others would have to register for evacuation that evening with their local parish officials. The sudden announcement resulted in panic as families had little time to make their decisions as to whether or not to evacuate, however, 17000 out of a population of 42000 left Guernsey.

With so many men of military age and children and young families evacuating from the Island, the population, on paper, aged quickly over a two day period. The States of Deliberation, following a States debate on the 21st June 1940 formed a Controlling Committee and Ambrose Sherwill, H.M. Procureur, was appointed as its first president. The Controlling Committee was given virtually all the powers of the States of Deliberation. (see Part A) The first meeting was held on the 25th June and then every week throughout the occupation. The remit of the committee was extensive. It had to carry out all administrative acts and agree acts as necessary. It was empowered

by the occupying force to control the storage and distribution of all articles and regulate work of any essential undertaking. Furthermore, the committee had the right to draw on the States Treasury for all financial requirements. In short, the controlling committee whilst accountable to the States of Guernsey (which, rarely met during the occupation) made all significant decisions, regarding essential commodities, finance and economics, agriculture, horticulture, labour and unemployment, information and health services.

The committee carried out business just like any other business, papers were prepared for discussion, agendas were written up and officials concerned with particular problems were called into the meetings for discussions. Proceedings were recorded and typed up. The Controlling Committee was like a Cabinet, which managed the affairs of the Island (Cruickshank 1991). Guernsey, unlike some other countries, was not managed by a government in exile.

The Hague Convention influenced the relationship between the Guernsey person and the occupying force. The Islands belonged to the British Empire with which the Reich had not agreed an armistice so the Hague Convention was not directly relevant. However, as the Island Administration was subservient to the occupying force it was felt (by the Civil Affairs Headquarters at St Germain) that the German Authorities should conduct themselves according to the convention. This agreement was dependent upon there being no friction between the Island Authorities and the Occupying Authorities (*Military Government Files Civil Administration* NG01/3).

The Island' authorities were charged by Major Lanz, who was in charge of civil Government in the Island, with remaining on reasonable terms with the occupiers, maintaining law and order and keeping people fed and in good health. The Germans saw it in their best interests to remain on good terms with Islanders, to portray a benevolent image in readiness for the occupation of the British Mainland and to retain the co-operation of Islanders to run the Island, (*The National Archives of the United States – Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* (T77788/5517288 1941 - 1943). Although they probably did not realise it, had the occupied Islanders chosen not to co-operate, the Wehrmacht would have had to bring in specialists to keep essential services going and thousands of other helpers, this would have been virtually impossible as they were simply not available. Even in the case of labour to build fortifications the Wehrmacht had to resort to using prisoners of war and conscripts from other countries as they did not have sufficient military personnel to achieve the task. The German authorities were also as keen to maintain law and order as the Guernsey Authorities. One immediate attempt at controlling law and order required the surrender of all weapons over a twenty- four hour period. (The Island Authorities had issued the same order prior to the arrival of the Germans in the Island). By the end of the war numerous robberies, probably incited by hunger, took place amongst Islanders and troops alike but the Germans did not have the resources to stop them.

One possible explanation for the more humane way in which Islanders were treated as compared to their continental counterparts, was the Germans needed to keep Islanders as healthy as resources and circumstances would allow. The Germans could not afford to invite epidemics of infectious diseases, as epidemics are no respecter of politics and nationality, if disease was rampant amongst civilians it would spread to the troops (Cruickshank 1991).

In June 1940 five thousand two hundred school children were evacuated to England, some with their parents, many without. Only one thousand and fifty school children remained on the Island. Apart from the school age children there were the under fives and consequently the school population did grow during the occupation period to one thousand five hundred and fifty pupils (Cruickshank 1991).

Whilst the School Medical Officer remained on the Island until 1942 when he was deported to the Biberach camp in Germany along with other non Guernsey born residents, the two schools nurses both left the Island at the time of the evacuation. Due to a lack of medical staff, medical inspections in schools were suspended. There is little doubt that malnutrition affected the health and probably educational performance of children but as a way of providing some nutrition the milk in schools scheme continued throughout the occupation. Children were still weighed in schools and between December 1943 and January 1944, 25 per cent of children had lost weight, by February 1944, 335 (approximately 23 per cent) had lost weight. By the end of 1944 there is little doubt that many would have starved without the timely arrival of the Vega, a ship which brought Red Cross food parcels (100th Annual M.O.H. Report, 1998/1999).

The President of the Board of Health prior to the occupation was co-opted on to the controlling committee and with his new powers immediately re-organised the hospital services as a response to the increasing difficulties in maximising efficiency of limited resources. By October 1940 all medical and nursing skills were concentrated in one building, the Emergency Hospital, formally the Country Hospital until 1939. All the Island's residents, rich or poor requiring surgical or

medical care were treated at the Emergency Hospital, apparently by doctors of their choice. There were nine doctors on the Island throughout the occupation. Patients paid fees for their treatment according to their means and the poor were paid for out of public funds. This centralisation of services proved to be both efficient and effective. It could even be argued that the Emergency Hospital was the first step to the Island achieving a general hospital (Cruickshank 1991).

Maternity care benefited from the new provisions with over 50 per cent reduction in home confinements and a move towards hospital confinements. This came about partly as a result of the curfew and also the lack of petrol for travelling around the Island. The result was a staggering lowering of deaths during childbirth and the rate of still- births being reduced by half. Interestingly, the rate of infant mortality within the first year of life also dropped. In 1930 infant mortality rate was 68 per 1000 births in the first half of 1940 (January to June) the figure was 52.5 deaths in the second half of 1940 (July to December) the figure had dropped to 37.7 It has been suggested that these figures may also reflect the improvement in health care and a fairer distribution of milk for all expectant mothers and children due to rationing (100th Annual M.O.H. Report 1998/1999).

1939 also saw St John Ambulance Brigade take its place in the Island. The brigade more than proved its value by transferring invalids to homes and the harbour prior to the occupation and then later due to private cars being taken off the roads providing both day time and the only night time service. Maintenance of vehicles was difficult and fuel very limited. A wind-powered generator was set up at the Ambulance Station to recharge the vehicle batteries. Gasogene and charcoal powered ambulances

were experimented with and undefeated in 1944 they brought horses back into services to draw the ambulances (Tough 1999).

The Board of Health's primary concern during the occupation was to control infectious diseases and epidemics. Of particular concern were typhoid, dysentery and typhus. Soon after their arrival in the Islands the Germans decided to build fortifications but it became apparent that the Wehrmacht could not do the job on their own this meant calling in the Organisation Todt which first arrived in the Islands in November 1941. Its function was to supply German and foreign labour for military construction work. The foreign workers retained their civilian status and clothes, the German workers were the officers and wore uniforms. Eventually political prisoners and prisoners of war were drafted in to make up the numbers. They had rags on their feet, sores on their backs from carrying cement, were beaten and whipped by the OT officers, carried tins or children's potties around their waist to eat drink and wash out of and were fed on cabbage water and bread, when there was any. By 1943 there were 16000 OT workers in the Island this meant that part of the Island was overcrowded as far as the infrastructure was concerned and sanitation was still unsatisfactory (even today in 2004 some parts of the Island, and some houses rely on septic tanks, cesspits and have only well water). Attempts to improvise led to pollution of stream and douits (water course) and an outbreak of typhoid occurred in 1941 (Cruickshank 1991). T.B. continued to account for the vast majority of admissions of civilians to the isolation hospital however the rates decreased from 27 deaths in 1939 to 20 in 1945. During the period 1939 to 1945 there were no deaths as a result of measles or scarlet fever. Typhus, spread by lice was a killer disease and the cold damp overcrowded camps where the OT workers were based, were a breeding ground for the disease. In 1943 there was an outbreak of typhus in the Allez

Street area of St Peter Port, an area frequented by Todt workers. By 1940 there were less than ten notified cases of diphtheria and no deaths. Between 1941 and 1945 there were no notified cases of diphtheria. It should be noted that figures are not available for deaths of Todt workers in the camps (100th Annual MOH Report 1998/1999).

In 1937 a Venereal Disease Clinic had been set up and this saw steady business throughout the occupation, gonorrhoea being the greatest cause for concern. In 1943 24 cases were admitted to the female clinic which was originally intended to accommodate a maximum of 15 cases and 2724 attendances were recorded at the V.D. clinic. French prostitutes were brought to the Island by the Germans to service the troops and they made use of the clinic's services (Cruickshank 1991).

Rationing during the occupation years operated in Guernsey in much the same way as it did in the U.K., but following the invasion of France importation of many food and seed stocks ceased. Land was turned into minefields, curfews shortened the working day, although double summer time was introduced to lengthen the evenings, beaches were off bounds and fishing was limited to those with permits issued by the Germans. Water, gas and electricity were restricted and the Germans had already requisitioned acquired foodstuffs (Bihet 1985).

It would seem that the attempts at equitable distribution of very scarce rations probably did much to ensure the population remained as healthy as it did. Diets changed drastically, sweets, surplus fats and white refined flour were things of the past. By the end of the war malnutrition was most evident amongst older people and the Town dwellers who were unable to grow food, and oedema, caused by malnutrition, was commonplace (Cruickshank 1991). The poor diet also affected the

development of the children, not only were the 6 to 14 year olds much lighter than their peers, who returned to the Island after the war, but they also experienced height retardation. Fourteen year olds had averaged five foot one inch in 1940 but in 1943 the average height of a fourteen year old was four feet ten and a half inches (100th Annual M.O.H. Report 1998/1999).

The International Red Cross parcels arrival was fortuitous as many would have starved without them, however the harshness of poor nutrition for a large part of the occupation did have a beneficial side. Children's teeth were in good condition, probably due to lack of sugar, overweight adults had been forced to lose weight and heart and lung problems from which people had suffered prior to the occupation appeared to decline. Infectious diseases were few and far between, possibly due to lack of mobility into and out of the Island, coughs, colds and sore throats decreased as did the incidence of appendicitis, of course it is possible that the decline in some illnesses may have been the result of a new found emotional resistance and the fact that many had other concerns that palled into insignificance against any health concerns (100th Annual M.O.H. Report 1998/1999).

The Invasion and Life After it for Five Years

Issues

The main source used for this chapter will be Cruickshank's (1991) official history, *The German Occupation Of The Channel Islands*.

Although the occupation of Guernsey was of limited significance to the rest of the world, for Islanders it provided the same issues that their counterparts in other parts of occupied Europe had to deal with, these issues being: how far to work with

the enemy; how if at all to resist them; how to cope with years of isolation being cut off from friends, family and allies; how to cope with hunger and depleting basic necessities of life and how to sustain morale. For the Germans the occupation of British soil provided them with a propaganda opportunity. The occupation of the Islands was the first step towards occupation of Britain. For Britain, the occupation of the Islands had little strategic significance.

Why Occupy The Channel Islands?

In order to understand the interactions between the occupied Guernsey person and the German Army it is necessary to attempt to examine what life was like for both the occupier and the occupied during this period and why the Islands were occupied. Although the Channel Islands were the only part of Britain that were occupied the Germans also occupied parts of Europe and in April 1940 neutral Denmark and in June 1940 Norway. Sweden had to make some concessions such as signing a treaty in June 1940 allowing the transfer of German soldiers from Norway using Swedish territory and in July 1940 signed a treaty to allow the transfer of German war materials between Norway and ports in Southern Sweden, but due to skilful foreign policy and a credible military, Sweden was able to stay out of the war. The Scandinavian countries were of great importance to the German weapons industry. The fjords provided transportation links for shipping and Denmark and Norway provided the Germans with a base to attack allied shipping. In one year more than eight million tons of iron ore were shipped to Germany from Norway, for the purpose of making weapons. Denmark was occupied in order to secure communication links with Norway. Denmark for fear of antagonising the Germans relied upon the non aggression treaty for protection, no preparations were made to protect themselves, no mobilisation had been initiated and no fortifications had been

built (Laursen 1997). The reasons for occupying the Channel Islands were very different to those for occupying Scandinavia. For Hitler, occupation of the Islands had more to do with prestige than strategy, although it is true to say that the Islands were well placed to protect German convoys in the area (Cruickshank 1991). They would also have provided a base for attacking the British lines of communication and the areas of France, still held by British forces. Hitler was convinced that as Britain had lost its hold in Europe, apart from Malta and Gibraltar, they would try to regain the initiative by taking back the Channel Islands, hence the need for the costly and exaggerated fortifications of the Islands (Cruickshank1991).

The German Occupation of Europe compared with Guernsey

From the time Hitler was appointed Chancellor, men and women lived and died resisting German occupation. Resistance groups sprang up in every occupied country and some within Germany itself. Often the Germans promised occupied areas that they would redress ancient ethnic disputes encouraging the notion that they were liberators. Most natives of these occupied lands were quickly and sharply disabused of their illusions.

As will be seen in this section, whilst there are similarities between the way that the areas that were occupied were controlled there were also marked differences. In Austria and parts of Poland, the Germans set up provinces that were incorporated into the Reich, each run by a Gauleiter who had absolute power. In Russia, the Germans held a lot of territory and used armoured trains and tanks to show their power. Collaborators who worked with the Germans ran areas like Vichy France. The Gauleiters had to send resources to Germany. Apart from natural resources

thousands of labourers were shipped into Germany, and occupied areas, to work for the Germans in factories and mines.

Perhaps the two areas that suffered the most severe wartime occupation conditions in modern history were Poland and the Ukraine, for much the same reasons. The invasion of Poland took place in September 1939 and was the start of World War II. Between 1939 and 1945 six million people (15 per cent) of Poland's population perished, the war left the country devastated. Germany, established a brutal colonial government whose goal it was to completely erase the concept of the Polish nation and make the Poles slaves of a new German empire.

The Germans invaded Norway and Denmark on the 9th April 1940. There is only limited literature written in English unless it is directly related to the 1940 campaign. The long term neglect of the Norwegian armed forces put the Norwegians at a disadvantage when dealing with invasion. Nearly 7000 Norwegian volunteers served under German command between 1941 and 1945. Most were not Nazi sympathizers but believed they were acting in the interests of Norway.

The German troops 'peacefully' occupied Denmark as the Social Democratic/ Social Liberal Government led by Thorvald Stauning decided to give in and reluctantly began collaborating with the occupying power. British backed popular resistance to the occupying power increased to such a level that the policy of collaboration collapsed in August 1943. The last eighteen months of the war were dominated by growing armed resistance to the Germans and their brutal reprisals.

Until 1943 the German policy in Denmark, had been moderate. This approach had helped Germany, to take supplies out of the country without paying as the Danish National Bank had offered credit. The moderate approach was also due to the perception that the Danes were considered 'Germanic' or 'Aryan' and would be part of the German people and that the Danish territory would become part of the German Empire. However when the resistance took off in 1943 a military state of emergency was declared and the Germans attitude changed, they became much more dictatorial. The remainder of the occupation period led to heavy handed policies on the part of the Germans (Laursen 1997).

The Germans occupied Holland, from 1940 to 1945 during which time the daily lives of the Dutch changed drastically (Hirschfeld 1988). Identity cards and passports were introduced and made compulsory, as they were in some other occupied areas. Jews had to wear a yellow star of David. Anti Semitism became widespread but so did the resistance against the occupiers. Food rationing common to the whole of Europe, was implemented and censorship was introduced. The Germans monitored everything that was broadcast on radio and reported in newspapers. Curfews were imposed, political parties were banned and trade came to a standstill. The Jews in Holland were moved to Amsterdam, and restricted to certain areas, they were later transported to concentration camps.

Most occupied countries had some level of organized resistance and the Communists under the direct control of the Soviet Union, were responsible for organizing much of it, but their efforts were not acknowledged due to the cold war.

When one compares the Guernsey situation with other parts of occupied Europe it is possible to see some similarities but possibly the more interesting and significant factor is the differences which may provide an insight as to why the outcomes in Guernsey were different to the rest of Europe. In common with other occupied countries Guernsey, was subjected to the use of ID cards and passports, curfews, food rationing and censorship of the media which was frequently used to broadcast German propaganda. The German approach to Islanders was also disciplined and kindly but unlike Holland, this approach was maintained throughout the occupation. Like Denmark the Germans entered Guernsey with no resistance, they entered an homogenous Island that although loyal to the Crown of England was neutral in that it was not English and had not in its own right declared war on Germany. The Island's government, like that of Denmark, continued in its role although it had to defer to the Germans on most issues. Also a similar message was issued to both the Guernsey and Danish people at the start of the occupation by the local authorities requesting that they remain calm, maintain law and order and remained loyal to their duties.

The main differences between Guernsey and the rest of the Europe appear to be that unlike Denmark and Norway, Guernsey had no natural resources to send to Berlin, and no labour resources to support the German war machinery, in fact the Germans had to import slave labour from other parts of Europe in order to build fortifications on the Island. Perhaps the greatest difference was that in Guernsey, there was no organized resistance to the Germans. The Islands, unlike many parts of Europe had been demilitarized prior to the start of the occupation so there were no weapons and there was no military personnel on the Island. Had there have been a resistance there would have been nowhere to hide, the Island is only eight miles by three miles and is surrounded by water.

The Island does not and never has had party politics unlike the rest of Europe (see the chapter on the Island's Constitution and political situation). Perhaps the other important difference when comparing Guernsey with the rest of Europe was the small number of Jews in the Island. There were only three women who were Jews resident in the Bailiwick and having identified themselves as Jews (Cohen 2000) they were deported to concentration camps. No mention is made of homosexuals on the Island, Gypsies are not a group familiar to the Island, there are none and never have been any. Those people who were in long stay hospitals and homes had already been evacuated prior to the occupation.

From the above it is obvious that the Islands provided very little threat to the Germans and it can be seen that parts of Europe, like Holland and Denmark, only incurred the wrath of the Germans when the resistance movements became more overt in their actions. The main focus in the Ukraine and Poland was removing the large population of Jews and the utilisation of land as an annex to Germany. Guernsey had little value for the Germans other than its strategic position in relation to France and England.

Preparation for the Invasion

According to Cruickshank (1991) before the Germans attacked Poland in 1939 they had calculated that it might be necessary to occupy the Islands, as part of their general strategy. In July 1938 they had placed an agent on the Island. He had travelled to the Island from Germany via Ostend, London and Weymouth and returned via Southampton. His report stated that a month before his visit the Navy Minister was in the Islands to evaluate their military potential and that the Navy

Minister had decided to enlarge the airfield and establish a submarine base in Guernsey. The agent observed that the airfield was twice the size of that at Cologne. He had seen no submarines but considered the Island would make a good base because of the granite cliffs and concealed bays on the South Coast. He estimated that the garrison consisted of about four hundred men living in barracks. They were all Islanders receiving military training. These troops were in fact the Guernsey Militia, service was compulsory and provided infantry training. He estimated that there were one hundred and fifty Germans living in Guernsey; between three hundred and four hundred domestic staff, mostly Poles and Czechs; a radio receiving station but no transmitter. The coastal defences were of no threat as they had not been modernised. All three Islands, Guernsey, Jersey and Alderney, had civil airports. Guernsey's newest airport had opened in May 1939. It was known that the Islanders, on the whole, were made up from 'natives who catch fish, tend cattle and well to do English people' (Cruickshank 1991 p62). Little was known about the defending forces but it was believed that it was unlikely that Britain, which was safe and secure at the west end of the Channel would have bothered to strengthen them. This assumption was correct. On the 16th May the Civil Aviation Authorities in Britain warned the Islands, that the enemy might try to land troops on the airfields.

On the 18th June 1940 Kommandierender Admiral Frankreich (Admiral Commanding Force) discussed with the operations staff of Luftflotte 2 how to take the Islands. He ordered the first of several reconnaissance, these were an attempt to identify whether or not the Islands were demilitarised. Photographs taken of the harbour in Guernsey, revealed long columns of lorries, which were interpreted as the presence of troops. An assumption was made that the garrisons had been strengthened. In fact the last of the troops had left two days earlier and the vehicles in

the photographs were tomato lorries queuing up to load ships. The Germans concluded they would need a large force to take the Islands, and that bombing raids should proceed their arrival. (*MOD 584 1940*). Admiral Lindau, the flag officer for Northern France, proposed that the Island's defences be attacked by Stuka dive bombers to prepare the way for the landing force. The Stukas would also provide cover for the landing troops and deal with any attacks by enemy motor torpedo boats. It was felt the minimum needed to take the Islands would be one infantry battalion for Alderney, two for Guernsey and three for Jersey, (Forty 1999). The scene was now set for the invasion.

The Invasion

The original plan to land six battalions across the Islands was reduced to a single company for Alderney, a battalion for Guernsey and a battalion for Jersey. The Luftwaffe was to provide constant air cover. On the 30th June Hauptmann Liebe-Pietenity, who was carrying out a routine reconnaissance observed that Guernsey airport was completely deserted. Leaving three planes overhead to cover him he landed unopposed at Guernsey airport and found Guernsey undefended. He departed when three Bristol Blenheims appeared to take on his covering colleagues. He, along with his colleagues, flew to safety but two of the Blenheims were shot down. That evening a platoon of soldiers of the Luftwaffe was flown to Guernsey. All previous complex plans for the invasion were abandoned by the Wehrmacht (Cruickshank 1991).

It was Lindau who had been commissioned with the task of capturing the Islands, with the assistance of the 216 Infantry Division. The 216 Infantry Division's home division was Hameln, the personnel were from Hanover, Brunswick, and Anhalt. It

was a third wave division and was formed on 29th August 1939. It had fought numerous campaigns in Poland and France, and had been brought to St Omer on the 8th June and St Germain on the 15th June 1940 followed shortly afterwards by a move to Cherbourg. It was proposed that a naval detachment should be flown into the Island but fog, an ever present hazard for the Islands, meant the troops were grounded. During the delays to the planned occupation Lindau discovered that the Island of Guernsey had officially surrendered to the force that had landed, unplanned, on the 30th June, the day before he had intended to occupy the Island. By 8.30pm on the 1st July the invasion of Guernsey had taken place and so began five years of occupation. Islanders were told to signify their willingness to surrender by hanging out white flags and painting white crosses in prominent places. They were told that if they surrendered peacefully, the life property and liberty of all peaceful citizens would be guaranteed (Cruickshank 1991).

The Islands, were then brought into the command area of XI Army Corps which placed them under 216 Infantry Division. (*T314 4444 War Diary* 1940-1945). Major Lanz who had accompanied the invading force to Guernsey was replaced on 18th September by Major Bandelow. Two weeks later Major Bandelow was replaced by Obest Graf Von Schmettow. Hitler decreed that there had to be a reinforced regiment on Jersey and Guernsey on 13th June 1941. The machine gun battalion would remain permanently on the Island. As no army construction troops could be spared Organisation Todt was used. Todt was a labour force and was made up of foreign labourers, some were conscripts, some Spanish communists and educated workers, amongst these were Russian prisoners of war. The German authorities stated the civilian population could also be conscripted if necessary plus soldiers from the Wehrmacht. OT Officers ruled over the labour force whose life was harsh in the

extreme. The 216 Infantry Division was eventually sent to the Russian front and in June 1941 319 Infantry Division took over, in both Guernsey and Jersey, from the invading force. General Major Muller took over from Van Schmettow as Befehlshaber of the British Channel Islands and Von Schmettow replaced Muller as Commander of 319 Infantry Division and became Commander in Chief of the Channel Islands. The 319 Infantry Division's home station was Kassel in Wehrkreis IX which covered Hessen and part of Thuringia.

319 Division was responsible for all the Channel Islands, part of the coast of France, and St Malo. When Hitler decided that the Allies would have to retake the Islands, before they could land on the French coast, 319 Infantry Division was massively reinforced until it became the largest infantry division in the German Army. 319 Infantry Division remained in the Islands until the liberation when they surrendered at 7.14am on 9th May 1945. The division was commanded by three officers during the occupation: Gen Lt Erich Muller (1942-1943) holder of the German Silver Cross, who went to command 603 Infantry Division, he was captured in 1944 and remained in a Russian prisoner of war camp until 1955; Gen Lt Graf Rudolf Von Schmettow (1944-1945), holder of the German Cross in Gold, he retired, survived to the end of the war and visited the Islands as a tourist years later and finally General Major Rudolph Wulf, holder of the Knights Cross with Oak Leaves who took over on 1st March 1945 and surrendered his division on 9th May 1945 (Forty 1999).

The relevance of the above information is to set the scene for the invasion and to explain the planning and thought behind the need to invade. It also shows that despite all the planning the process to invade was not without its problems and misinterpretations of the situation in Guernsey.

Islanders' Response to the Invasion

A noticeable difference between the occupation of Scandinavia and Europe and the occupation of the Channel Islands included the fact that in all four Channel Islands, there was no organised resistance. However the Islanders did have their own means of unorganised 'resistance' (Thomas 1992) and caused the Germans problems in other ways, such as being less than committed employees during the occupation.

Due to the German High Command's decision to fortify the Islands, there was an increased demand for labourers. Channel Islanders did work for the Germans for a variety of reasons, some because they were paid better wages or because it improved their supply of limited commodities. Working for the Germans enhanced opportunities for theft from them. Employing local people caused the German authorities concern for two reasons, firstly they were concerned that local labour would acquire information on the sensitive details of the German fortifications and transmit this information to Britain, secondly Islanders were not the most reliable of employees and made an issue of 'going slow' on projects. High absenteeism and low rates of efficiency were also commented upon in the Bundesarchiv document, which claimed that lack of discipline amongst Channel Islanders was assuming perilous proportions. Islanders put their high absenteeism and poor performance down to an inadequate diet. The Germans were not slow to point out that, foreign workers, whose diets were no better and who were separated from their families (Todt workers) had adapted much better to the German work ethic, what they did not acknowledge was the fact that these workers, who were treated as slaves and prisoners, actually had no choice in whether or not they worked or how they worked. (*General Correspondence*. W11/104-107 1940 -1945). Channel Islanders were

protected because the Island Authorities acted as a buffer between the German personnel and Islanders. Also, the Germans were desperate for labour to build the fortifications and run other services on the Island, and labour was short, consequently they did not wish to alienate Islanders, they needed them to work but Islanders were restricted to working on less sensitive sites and locations around the Island whilst imported foreign labour (Todt), worked on the more sensitive fortifications (Ginns 1994).

One peculiarity of the Germans management of the Island was the length of time the same soldiers spent on the Island, sharing the living circumstances of the local people. One reason why the infantry divisions remained on the Island was because following the Normandy Invasions in 1944 they could not get off the Island again. This meant that both Germans and local people were stranded on an Island with limited resources, cut off from supplies. Their shared experiences led to an understanding or empathy, which in some cases resulted in friendships and understandings not usually expected between enemies. Perhaps when distance is removed from war and both sides are forced to live in similar situations it is easier to see the other person as a human being rather than the enemy.

Life of the Germans in Guernsey

In the middle of 1942 Oberst Lamey was sent to the Islands to study the chain of command. He concluded that fundamental changes were required to improve communications, organisation and the troops morale, which by this time was very low. Lamey proposed a new and improved supply organisation. Units should be pulled out and replaced from time to time as officers were becoming de-motivated by

being permanently placed in one post without any hope of being moved (Cruickshank 1991).

The fortification of the Island continued and the number of troops and labourers continued to rise. In August 1942 the approved establishment (of troops) for both Islands was 36960. By May 1943 the total strength of the Wehrmacht in all three Islands was 26800, that is, 13000 in Guernsey, 10000 in Jersey, and 3800 in Alderney. After the invasion of the Continent in July 1944 the figures went down slightly to 11266 in Guernsey, 8869 in Jersey and 3443 in Alderney. However these figures do not include Organisation Todt. The first half of 1943 saw the heaviest concentration of enemy personnel throughout the occupation, a total of 42800 of which 16000 were OT workers. This figure is equal to more than two thirds of the men, women and children on the Island. The troops were accommodated all over the Island (see map in appendix C). Some were billeted with Islanders, others lived in the houses of those who had evacuated, again, side by side with Islanders who had remained. When the German Army first invaded occupiers of houses were asked to hang white material outside of their homes to indicate that the houses were not vacant. However, due to a lack of suitable accommodation large houses and houses with bathrooms were often commandeered by the Germans for their own purposes. Locals were told they had to billet soldiers or give up their homes altogether.

Local people lived in very close proximity over a long period of time with the occupying forces. The group of Germans that the locals, on the whole, had least to do with were those who were responsible for the OT workers. This was possibly due to the fact that they spent much of their time with the labour force (Todt) who worked in areas considered sensitive and locals had no access to. Many of the

Germans they lived with were as reluctant to be on the Island, and part of the war, as the Islanders were to have them there. In addition, living in such close proximity meant that Islanders and Germans learnt to understand each other and empathise with each other. Both groups of people were forced to share the same limited resources and restricted lifestyle.

Initially the occupying forces were in good spirits. They had fought a successful campaign, they had arrived on an Island where the shops were stacked high with food and produce. Communications, early on, with home were good, there was plenty of food and drink, no armed combat and a new environment to explore. Gradually however, stocks became depleted and were not replenished. Occupation restrictions were imposed quickly on the quantities of goods that could be purchased. The decline in the troops' standard of living was reflected in their tobacco ration. In July 1940 their purchases from Solatenkaufhauser (soldiers' shops which were the responsibility of the Feldkommandantur but managed and staffed by Islanders) were in addition to their entitlement from their canteens, by November 1940 the amount was reduced to twenty cigarettes a day. In civilian shops, tradesmen, who were unwilling to supply troops, were threatened with closure of their shops and punishment and were instructed that soldiers should be given preference over the civilian population. By March 1941 the daily ration was six cigarettes, by July 1941 three cigarettes, after September supply from civilian shops ceased and eventually even the forces issue ended (*NG01/34 Military Government Files, Island Commanders Orders* 1941).

The soldatenheime (soldiers homes) were established as an attempt to improve and maintain morale. The Germans had requisitioned a number of large buildings on the

Island for a wide range of activities such as food stores, brothels and officers' accommodation. These buildings tended to have previously been used as schools and hotels and included large or newly built houses which offered up to date facilities such as inside baths and toilets, which were not common on the Island. The soldatenheime were established mostly in hotels. Their objective was to provide a club atmosphere for men when they were off duty, they were managed by Red Cross sisters, who had to abide by a strict code of conduct, part of which forbade the wearing of lipstick, nail varnish and long hair. Food and drink were provided and guests were welcomed. A lending library was also set up. However due to lack of supplies food was not what it could have been and despite the soldatenheime, morale continued to decline. There was an increase in drunkenness amongst the troops and the strength of the locally brewed alcohol was blamed for this. By 1941 four or five men were committing suicide per week in the Channel Islands and North Western France. Sport was used as an attempt to improve spirits and the German soldiers were invited to watch and eventually join in cricket at the Guernsey Cricket Club but this did not help. The cinemas were popular for both civilians and troops. They were admitted free to the Regal, which could seat 1100 but had to pay at other cinemas that were shared between civilians and troops. However, it was not long before stocks of new films dried up (Nebel 1948). Band concerts were held and shows put on for both troops and civilians but transport difficulties to and from the Island, curtailed these (*T3141604, 1942*). There were of course beaches and in the summer one could swim from beaches that were not mined. As with cinemas the beaches were divided to prevent civilians and troops becoming overly familiar, which appears to be in direct contradiction of the German's housing policy where German soldiers were forcefully billeted with Islanders. All of this provided opportunities for soldiers and civilians to fraternise to some extent. Reading was a popular past-time for both

occupied and occupiers but as no new books could be imported, librarians spent much time carefully preserving old and worn books. Radios were confiscated so the Islanders and the German soldiers were effectively cut off from the outside world. Clearly from this it can be seen that the Germans and Islanders both suffered from the isolation of being on an Island, cut off from the rest of the world. The need for self entertainment with limited resources is evident.

Some young women, possibly out of mutual natural attraction or maybe because they were left alone on the Island isolated from the outside world and unsure of whether life as they had known it prior to the occupation would ever return, did form relationships with young soldiers who themselves were homesick, far way from home and sharing the deprivations of life on the Island with the locals – they had much in common. Initially such attractions may have resulted from the desire to augment limited rations on the part of the locals. Undoubtedly some formed lasting relationships with their German soldiers and there were cases of marriage between the two.

A further issue that led to the demoralisation of the German Army was the lack of military action following the Battle of Britain. The Germans were left wondering if they would ever invade England. They trained but did so without purpose and the troops were bored. Communications broke down, letters from home were less frequently received, were irregular and there was virtually no post from Berlin and Germany. The German newspaper they did receive made for depressing reading and listed the names of civilians known to have been killed in the bombing (*Nuremburg Press* 18 August 1943). Cinemas, which had provided a limited link with the outside world were forced to close down because of lack of electricity. After the invasion of

Europe, even compassionate leave was stopped except in the case of the death of a wife or one of a soldier's parents. The soldiers were isolated, lonely and demoralised and on an Island, where there were more young soldiers than there were young local girls who were willing to be courted by the 'enemy', a need was soon established for official brothels.

The first brothel was set up in 1942; the thirteen women who provided the service were all brought to the Island from France. In time more women were imported and more brothels established much to the consternation of the local authorities who were unhappy about their management and the fact that the women were issued with civilian ration books and, on the insistence of the Feldkommandantur, heavy workers rations. It was felt by the Controlling Committee they should have been regarded as military personnel (Idi - *Military Command Files* 1940 - 1945). Because venereal disease was rife on the Island, a local doctor was ordered by the Feldkommandantur to carry out routine medical examinations, he objected but the order was made formal through the Controlling Committee (GF8/1/4 *Controlling Committee Files – Health Services*). In an attempt to bring venereal disease under control in 1942 the Chief German Medical Officer ordered that all women who were being treated for the disease should refrain from sexual relations with German soldiers and civilians for three months. Severe punishment (not specified) would be the consequence of failing to comply with the order. This notice was only intended for those who were being treated but when it arrived in Sark, and was presented to the Dame of Sark she found it highly insulting to her people and refused to publish it. Her husband found the situation amusing (Hathaway 1961).

By the end of the occupation there was a desperate struggle for survival for both locals and the occupying force and both the occupiers and occupied were bound together in isolation and starvation (Cruickshank 1991). In August 1944 the Befehlshaber (Chief Judge) instructed meals to be served an hour later than usual to ensure that nourishment lasted. All ranks were instructed to retire at midday. In September he announced any infringement of the food regulations would be regarded as sabotage and soldiers would be punished with hard labour. The sentence was reduced to six weeks close arrest because they did not have the strength to stand up to hard labour. By November it was announced that food thefts would be punishable by the death penalty. In December eleven soldiers died from eating hemlock. A murder also took place over two sacks of potatoes. The ration by 1944 was 60.2 grams of fat, 56 grams of meat and up to 3500 grams of vegetables per week for both soldiers and civilians, (NG01/33 *Military Files 319 Infantry Division Orders* 1940 - 1945). Missing domestic pets such as cats and dogs had usually been killed for meat. Most of the horses on the Island had also been killed for the same reason but for those few that were left there was no bedding and the Germans would collect leaves from the streets for them.

Research carried out recently by Dr George Ellison of the University of London and Dr D Jeffs, the Island's current Medical Officer of Health, has found that girls who were entering puberty during the Occupation matured a lot later than those who evacuated. They believe this suggests that there was a delay which reflected the impact of a less than adequate diet (*Guernsey Evening Press* 19th March 2001).

Shortages were not just restricted to food, the Germans were forced to cut down their jackboots in order to patch other footwear due to a shortage of leather. By November

1944 food stocks, despite heavy rationing would not last beyond the first week of the New Year. Civilians were fighting in the market place over root vegetables even the potato skins which had been sold in the market were no longer available. The Germans began to requisition all food stocks in the Island, for the maintenance of the troops, by November 1944. The Germans did agree to allow food parcels to enter the Channel Islands via the Red Cross who would supervise the distribution of parcels and their ships would be given safe passage. Red Cross parcels arrived on the Vega a few weeks later, the Germans were instructed not to touch them, they were for the local people and they did not take control of the supplies (*PREM3/87 Prime Ministers Papers*). The gas company announced on the 18th December 1944 that the supply of gas would come to an end on 21st December at 9am. Electricity would last until February 1945. Wooden gates, staircases, furniture and floorboards were all used for firewood (Ord 1944 -1945).

By 3rd May 1944 cigarettes were selling for fourteen marks each, the equivalent of thirty shillings or £1.50 per cigarette. The black market had existed almost from the start of the occupation. Initially there were two black markets, one involved crews of vessels travelling between French ports and the Islands, smuggling in quantities of extra foodstuffs which they exchanged for Reichsmarks, the second was run by local people (*Guernsey Controlling Committee 5/1/8*). Early in the occupation there was plentiful food stocks on the Island, but by 1942 the situation had changed and the black market came into its own. In 1942 there were forty successful prosecutions, fifty in 1943, and over one hundred in 1944 (Cruickshank 1991). By the end of the war the Reichsmark had lost its value and people relied on bartering by exchanging goods. Germans were offering their guns for sale or exchange privately to civilians.

Rehumanising the Enemy

This then is the backdrop against which the enemy lived. The Germans were not the mighty conquering occupying military force that one would expect: instead morale was very low as early as 1941, they were starving by Summer of 1944 and by the Liberation their uniforms were thin and ragged. They had much in common with the Islanders they were occupying. The following was an account of Liberation Day by an interviewee:

As we reached Town the narrow streets seemed to be filled with Khaki clad soldiers, their uniform cloth so thick and new looking compared to the shabby and thin green uniforms of the German soldiers.

All people, whether local or not, were bound together reluctantly or otherwise through isolation and starvation for the period 1940 to 1945. There is little doubt from the accounts that have been verbalised since, that in some cases, empathy between people on both sides did exist and individual acts of kindness, which may or may not have been isolated, have been spoken of in recent years. A German Luftwaffe corporal was jailed for three days because he gave two Guernsey people a lift in his officer's car. Jack Jublonowski returned to the Island in 1995 with his wife. He has visited Guernsey every year since. Whilst stationed in Guernsey, he found a young girl cyclist cowering at an escaped bull. He had been raised on a farm and so dealt with the bull. He had a photograph of himself with the girl, which he has now deposited at the Occupation Museum. On another occasion allied aircraft were attacking radar installations at Fort George St Peter Port. He saw a mother with a baby in a pram. He threw her to the ground and covered the baby with his body to

protect it from the shooting planes (*Guernsey Evening Press* 16th June 2001). It would be very difficult to view such actions as those of an enemy and consequently such altruistic behaviour may force one to review how one perceives the individual concerned.

Religion

Freedom to practise religious beliefs is considered to be an important part of life in a free democratic world and would be considered part of one's human rights. Religion can also have a strong bearing upon the culture of a community. For this reason having looked at religion and its influence prior to the occupation it is important to look at the position of religion and the Islander's freedom to worship in the way they chose to during the occupation.

Religious worship was permitted by the German Authorities during the occupation provided church services were not used for propaganda purposes. Prayers for the Royal Family and the welfare of the British Empire were permitted. The Salvation Army was not permitted to wear uniforms, play brass instruments and march in bands nor hold open air meetings. Most Salvationists attended other churches for the duration of the occupation and returned to their three army halls (St Sampson, L'Islet and Clifton) after the war.

In Alderney the Roman Catholic Church, which had been built in 1848 in response to the religious needs of a large number of Irish Catholics who had been imported in connection with the British Government's fortification scheme, was destroyed by the Germans. Throughout the 19th century and the 20th century Roman Catholic religious orders have been active in the Island, in the fields of health and education. Les Souers de la Presentation set up a school at Les Cotils, which survived until 1941

when it was converted to a nursing home run by the States in co-operation with the sisters. De La Salle Christian Brothers who had also arrived in the Island in 1904 and acquired property at Vimiera and Les Vauxbelets ran a training centre for novices throughout the occupation (Marr 2001).

The impact of the Occupation on those considered to be Jews and the relationship between the German occupation authorities and the local civil administration has, to date, been given only minor consideration in the wide range of historical and biographical literature about the Occupation of the Channel Islands. This is because detailed documentary evidence has only recently become available. It is clearly a subject that deserves research but this thesis does not make any claim to provide research or insight into this subject. I will not be making judgements or drawing conclusions, but only reporting issues based on facts made available from the paper by Frederick Cohen (2000) on *The Jews in the Channel Islands*. No thesis on the Occupation of the Islands by the Germans would be complete without at least an acknowledgement of the plight of the Jews in the Channel Islands.

Jews were first noted in Guernsey in the 1760's but no synagogue is known to have been built. Although no formal Jewish community has ever existed in Guernsey, a number of Jews were known to have evacuated before the German Occupation (*Rev Ord Diaries* 1944-45). Both Jersey and Guernsey Jewish families were aware of the danger the approaching German forces posed to them. Information was made available locally on the anti-Jewish measures implemented in Europe before the war. In the period leading up to the war the Aliens Office had been regulating the movement of aliens arriving in the Islands, for any purpose. In accordance with policy in England, enemy aliens were interned before the Occupation for a short

period from the end of May until the end of June 1940. Amongst those interned in Guernsey were three women who were subsequently registered as Jews under the orders of the German occupying forces in October 1940.

Between 21 October 1940 and 2 December 1942 there were nine orders against the Jews registered in the Islands Royal Court, (*Guernsey Archive Service, File FK 5-6*). These nine orders regarded the implementation of discriminatory measures against those Jews remaining in the Channel Islands. As another line of attack on the Jews the German authorities ordered the local newspapers to publish anti-Semitic articles and screen anti-Semitic films in the local cinemas, (*Jersey Evening Post* 27 April 1942). The orders singled out the Jews from the rest of the community. By 1942 the Germans began tightening measures against the Jews still further, lists were ordered to be compiled listing both registered Jews resident in the Islands, and those who had evacuated. Enquiries were instigated into suspected Jews and in 1942 the first deportations of resident Jews took place. This was followed in 1943 with the deportation of British Jews (Cohen 2000). Ironically having invested so much time in tracking down Jews for deportation a number of male Jews were then brought to the Channel Islands as slave labourers (part of operation Todt) to work on the fortifications (Cruickshank 1991).

From the above it can be seen that a great deal of time and effort was put into controlling and marginalising three women Jews, the only Jews in Guernsey. This behaviour demonstrates how minutely controlling the occupying force was and how irrational to the point of obsession the occupiers' behaviour was.

Trade

Although there was no export trade of any produce out of Guernsey during the occupation due to the closure of the ports by the Germans and the fact that many men who had previously worked in heavy areas like horticulture and quarrying had evacuated or joined His Majesty's Forces, trade continued internally whilst stocks and resources remained available.

In September 1940 food stocks were relatively high, partly due to the fact that so many Islanders had evacuated and also in the early stages of the occupation seed and flour were still being imported from France. By 1941 food started to run short. Potatoes had been commandeered by the Germans, fishing was limited to licence holders only and these were issued by the German authorities, beaches were mined which further prevented access to fishing. Flour and seed were no longer arriving from France, eggs were scarce due to the lack of feeding stuffs for chickens and poultry over the age of two years had been killed. At the same time as all this Islanders had not yet adjusted to the need to adopt new eating patterns and the Health Services Officer stated that the winter of 1941/1942 was the worst part of the occupation as far as lack of food was concerned, apart from the last six months of the occupation in 1945 (Cruickshank 1991).

There is little doubt that the responses of Islanders to the occupation of the Island by the Germans varied in an infinite number of ways. Clearly one's social and financial status did help buffer the magnitude of the deprivations experienced over the five year period and this can be seen in the stories of some of the respondents in this research. It would be naïve perhaps, to assume a new found equanimity brought about by a strictly controlled rationing programme for however much the authorities

attempted to ensure an equitable status for all, in terms of resources available, and there is evidence to suggest that they were to some extent successful in this, the fact is human nature will find ways of manipulating a situation and justifying behaviour which in another time and place might be frowned upon perhaps out of a natural process to ensure survival.

It was easier for those who lived in the country to grow vegetables than it was for a Town dweller. Older people, without a system of support, were the most vulnerable, even when living with their families' decisions were made to give the limited food rations to the children rather than to them as it was felt they had had their lives. The very young, were to some extent protected and frequently benefited from their parents' meagre rations, they were also provided with soup and milk on a daily basis and due to their youth were probably more resistant to disease (Tough 1999).

By 1941 potatoes were rationed to five pound a week. Bread was rationed to four and a half pound a week per adult but by 1945 this had dropped to one pound a week and for several weeks there was no bread at all. Whilst the lucky ones had a few potatoes to eat the less fortunate ones were left with the potato skins which were sent to the market and sold. Milk was reduced to half a pint of skimmed milk and the meat ration had fallen from twelve ounces per person per week to one ounce per person per week but in truth there was often no meat at all and rabbits which had formed the staple part of the diet were also in short supply (Cruickshank 1991).

For most the basic rations were just about sufficient to support life but a great deal of ingenuity was called upon to provide substitutes for those commodities that were taken for granted in the U.K. Tea was made from bramble leaves, pea pods and

carrots. Blancmange was made from repeatedly washing the starch out of potatoes, drying it and then adding vanilla extract, coffee was made from acorns; seaweed made jelly; sea water provided table salt. There was an increase in the consumption of vegetables and a lack of nicotine led to an imaginative array of substitutes, some of which may have had an even greater negative effect on health in the long term (Durand 1946).

Food was not the only commodity that was in short supply. The Islands prior to the occupation had depended on coal from Newcastle and South Wales and petrol and oil from Southampton. The result of the cutting off of these supplies meant transport, gas, electricity and water were all put at risk making communications, sanitation, cooking and heating all extremely difficult for both the local people and the German occupiers (see section on life with the Germans). The response to this was that vehicles except for emergency vehicles were taken off the roads, horses were brought back into service, gas and electric heaters were disconnected from baths, houses were discouraged from using gas or electric cookers, shops and businesses closed early and people spent much of their time collecting twigs, wood, in fact anything that would burn. By the time those who had evacuated returned many found that banisters, staircases and floorboards had been taken from houses to use as fuel. Briquettes were made from a mixture of tar, coal dust and cement. Tepied (akin to the modern barbeque) were used for cooking and people were encouraged to make use of bakers' ovens so vegetable casseroles or more accurately vegetables in water without thickening, were the order of the day. Bathing water was restricted to two inches and baths were to be taken no more than twice a week. Paraffin was unobtainable and houses were permitted to purchase one candle per week. Tree felling was not permitted for fear of making military installations more easily visible.

Clothes were also in short supply and people were reduced to swapping whatever they had. Leather was not available for shoes, some wore wooden clogs, whilst others wore rope shoes. Bicycles replaced cars on the roads but tyres were not available so hosepipes were wired on to wheel frames providing very uncomfortable rides over the Island's cobbled roads.

Not surprisingly by 1942 the black market was thriving. In Guernsey there were forty successful prosecutions by the Island's civil courts, fifty in 1943 and one hundred in 1944. It is important however, to look carefully at what was considered worthy of a prosecution. Such prosecutions resulted from breaches in price control, failure on the part of farmers to submit all the milk their cows produced, sale of food to German soldiers, illegal slaughtering of animals and the acquisition of rationed food in excessive amounts. After a year of the occupation commodities were so scarce that many retailers closed their businesses. Some with a little more initiative set up shops where consumers could exchange goods, the only money that exchanged hands was a percentage of the value of the goods exchanged to the retailer for his services as the intermediary (Cruickshank 1991).

Auctions became regular features of daily life and items previously undreamt of appeared for auction. In 1944 an assortment of goods thought to be worth about ten shillings sold at auction for thirty pounds. This was a legitimate transaction. On the black market in 1944 tea was fetching twenty to thirty pounds per pound, butter thirty shillings a pound and tobacco one hundred and twelve pounds per pound, if you could get it. Tobacco was the main bartering tool of the German troops.

Eventually Wolf who was head of a small group of Gestapo banned bartering which kept Guernsey in line with Jersey, and the Controlling Committee banned auctioning

of rationed goods as they decided it was in the general interest to remove the undesirable behaviour to raise prices (*States Archives GF 5/1/8 & 5/1/23* undated).

Theft throughout the occupation was widespread, particularly of food and domesticated rabbits. Whenever possible the locals stole from the Germans, sometimes with the assistance of the Germans themselves who would turn a blind eye to women and children collecting 'dropped' potatoes from the back of vehicles. Rabbits had to be taken indoors at night to ensure they were not stolen. Troops had the opportunity to steal as they were allowed to move freely even during curfew hours. Foreign workers, who were appallingly treated may have had the greatest motivation due to their dire circumstances and desperation. But locals stole not only from the Germans but also each other (Bell 1995). Desperate circumstances call for desperate behaviour, which at any other time and in any other context would have been considered unthinkable.

Education

At the start of the Occupation the schools played a unique role in evacuating the children of the Islands. Unless children evacuated with parents or family members they were expected to register with the parish for evacuation and to be evacuated with their schools. Some of the local schools, such as the Intermediate School, not only evacuated as a school but also remained as a unit throughout the evacuation. Miss Roughton, then headmistress of the Girls' Intermediate School went to considerable lengths and at great personal cost to retain 'her girls' and maintain a sixth form who could further their education at university (Mahy 1992).

The Ladies' College spent the war years in Denbigh in Wales but they not only retained the students already registered with them but also took in other evacuated girls from the Island (Buckfield 1965). The Elizabeth College evacuated with one hundred and fifty-six boys to Derbyshire where they remained as a school until after the Liberation (Coysh 1975).

Not surprisingly, back on the Island, the school roll had been reduced considerably by the evacuation; only approximately one thousand five hundred and fifty children remained out of the seven thousand who had been schooled in the Island. The Germans commandeered many of the schools to use as billets for their troops or stores for food- stuffs. The reduced number of pupils and even more reduced number of teachers meant that it was impractical to continue teaching in all the Island's schools. The lack of fuel and limited transport also added to the problems and so schools were relocated to a wide range of smaller premises ranging from tea- rooms to church halls and private houses. Classes, consisting of very few children covering wide age ranges used make- shift classrooms separated from each other only by curtains.

During the occupation, the Education Authority of Guernsey devised a special Guernsey School Leaving Certificate that was recognised by the U.K. after the liberation. The curriculum was very restricted due to:- a lack of textbooks, no new books being imported; limited opportunities to engage in sport; there were no laboratory facilities to study science; and the fact that teachers had been evacuated with their schools in order to take care of the children evacuating without parents. Retired teachers were encouraged to return to the classrooms and other willing parties entered the classroom with little or no previous teaching experience to take on

the temporary role of educator. Some of these parties were only fourteen years old themselves, the school leaving age at that time in Guernsey.

Apart from an attempt to introduce the German language as part of the educational curriculum in Guernsey, there was no other real attempt to use the educational system for political purposes. The schools were visited on occasions by German officers as were prize- giving days but this appears to have been more as a reminder of their presence on the Island as a ruling body than an attempt to influence the minds of the young (*Schule and Kultur Civil & Administration files* NG05/1 undated).

Social life

Social life amongst occupied Islanders was very insular and limited. The effects of the blackouts, early curfew, closure of mined beaches, inability to use boats for pleasure, lack of transportation, food and fuel all took their toll (Cruickshank 1991; Mahy 1992; Bell 1995; Bihet 1985).

The cinema continued in its popularity until all the English films had been shown. German films were imported, as was newsreel, which was intended for the troops. German soldiers and Guernsey people were separated in the cinemas. Amateur dramatics were popular and shows were put on and patronized by both Germans and locals. Military band concerts were familiar sights. Sport in the form of football was allowed and was a popular spectator sport. German teams competed against Guernsey teams. No new associations were permitted to form and free masonry was made illegal (Mahy 1992).

Whilst some people continued to entertain within their homes others declined to do so because they could not offer their guests food or drink or return the invitation to visit them. Prior to the occupation great family gatherings and picnics on the beach was a Guernsey tradition, however for obvious reasons this declined over the occupation period. The past time of reading continued but the stock of books available on the Island, through personal ownership or the Guilles -Alles library, diminished due to natural wear and tear and the occasional purges on anything considered to be anti German. Further restrictions on reading resulted from a shortage of gas, oil and electricity to provide light to read by, despite the fact that double summer time was introduced to extend the evenings. Radios were banned in 1942, which encouraged feelings of isolation from the outside world amongst the Islanders, but many built crystal sets which they hid from the Germans (Bihet 1985; Mahy 1992).

To summarise, life was harsh for both the local people and their occupiers. Both were isolated and cut off from the rest of Europe, both by 1944 were starving. The German's approach to their propaganda coup of occupying British soil may have irritated the British Government initially but ultimately their mismanagement of the occupation of the islands and the resources required to retain the occupation was the downfall of the Germans' occupation of the Islands in the end. The German Army was totally demoralised and despite their large presence in both Guernsey and Jersey they were either unable to defend them or more realistically had lost the will to defend them by the time of the Liberation.

PART C - POST OCCUPATION / EVACUATION

The aim of this research is to examine the possible long term effects of the evacuation and occupation on the children and Guernsey society of the time. In order to do this I believe it is necessary to examine life for the Islanders after the occupation as well as before. In order to compare like with like the same areas of Guernsey life, as far as possible, that were looked at in the preoccupation period and during the occupation have been examined in this section. This may provide an insight into why Islanders felt the way they did after the war.

Politics

Following the Liberation it was decided to reform the way in which the Island governed itself. Proposals were made to the King-in-Council (King George the sixth) and the Privy Council and a committee was appointed headed by J. Chuter Ede, M.P. The committee came to the Island and carried out a survey. Their report was submitted to the Island Authorities and with certain modifications adopted as a law. This law, The Reform Law (1948) is the Island's basic constitution. The main reform was in the removal of the Jurats from the States of Deliberation, in which they had sat by sole virtue of their office, for many hundreds of years. The objection (of the committee) was that as they sat both in the States and in the courts they were effectively making the laws they were then administering. Their place was taken by Conseillers who were elected from people's deputy status by their peers in the house (States of Deliberation).

Amendments have been registered since that time effecting certain changes, one being *The Reform (Election of Conseillers and Minor Amendments) (Guernsey) Law*, 1993. Twelve Conseillers and thirty three deputies comprised the States of

Deliberation along with the other members (as outlined in section on Political overview), this has now been amended to replace the Conseillers post with people's deputies and instead of thirty-three deputies and twelve conseillers there are now forty- five deputies all of whom are elected by the people.

In 2004 the Island's administrative system was also modified in order to achieve greater efficiency. All the former boards, committees and councils were reorganised into ten departments each headed by a chief executive (a civil servant) and represented in The States by a minister (States deputy).

Health

Following the Liberation in May 1945 those children who had been evacuated with their schools and without their parents were returned to the Islands. This proved to be a difficult time for many who had established close relationships and routines with foster families in the U.K. Most, but not all, of those who left the Island as family units also returned to the Island and as a consequence the school roll went up from one thousand five hundred and fifty to five thousand eight hundred and seventy seven. The Medical Officer of Health (Dr Revell) wrote a special report into the health of those children who remained on the Island throughout the occupation and concluded:

On the whole the children seem to have maintained their health and growth better than might have been expected and without doubt the special milk ration contributed largely to this. Visiting doctors have commented on the physical condition of the children to be much better than they expected and also on the bright alert expression on their faces
(100th Annual M.O.H. Report 1998/1999).

The Schools Medical Officer and the two schools nurses also returned to the Island in 1945. Over the next twenty years the health services provided by the Education Council and Board of Health were extended to include two health visitors in 1950, one whose duty was to monitor the health of preschool children.

In 1948, possibly as a result of an increase in population due to the number of returning Islanders, the poor living conditions and the inheritance of an under resourced Island recovering from the occupation, the number of tuberculosis cases rose as did the number of deaths due to tuberculosis from 20 in 1945 to 40 in 1948, the number of reported cases of measles also rose slightly from 0 throughout the occupation to 5 in 1948. (100th Annual M.O.H. Report 1998/1999).

A new General Hospital was built in 1949 and a nurse training school established in 1967. This hospital has since been extended and further modernised and is no longer the cottage hospital it once was.

Since the Second World War, with the exception of 1948, severe communicable diseases have been brought under control due to immunisation and medical advances in treatment, (*Annual MOH Report 1900 - 1997*). There has been an increase in the mean age of death from 36.5 yrs (male and female combined) at the start of the twentieth century to 65yrs mid century and a calculated life expectancy at birth of 75.9 yrs for men and 80.6 yrs for women in 1996, which is in line with the mainland (*Annual MOH Report 1900-1997*). It is probably fair to say that Islanders benefited from the war and the occupation in that they resulted in radical changes in

Guernsey's health care system and paved the way for further significant changes over the following half of the twentieth century.

In 1998 the Channel Islands Occupation Birth Cohort Study began investigating the short and longer- term health effects of the German occupation. Research conducted in the Netherlands, suggested that children conceived and born in those parts of the country experiencing severe food shortages following the Allied Invasion in 1944 appeared to have increased risk of raised blood pressure and glucose intolerance both of which are implicated in cardiovascular disease. After taking into account factors such as age, weight, smoking behaviour and stress the results to date suggest no significant increase in the risk of high blood pressure or glucose intolerance. The findings have suggested that if anything, those born before the occupation or early in the occupation displayed marginally worse health (Ellison 2000).

Religion

Methodism which prior to the war had been a religious force to be reckoned with, declined in popularity after the war. The Salvation Army re- established itself on the Island after the war and operated from three halls, the congregations for all three corps grew until the seventies and then started to decline. Since the Second World War other sects have arrived in the island (Marr 2001). The Roman Catholic Church which had played an important role in island life before and during the war, has continued to play an important role since the war (McCormack 1986). As far as a Jewish community is concerned there is still no synagogue and only one known Jew on the Island and he worships in Jersey

Trade

Traditional trade areas for Guernsey, (as listed below) have suffered mixed fortunes since the end of the Second World War with most growing in importance to the island up until the 1970s and 1980s and then declining by the end of the twentieth century.

Agriculture

The Island has never had the capacity to be self supporting and competition, plus the need to meet strict European Union regulations and the falling price of milk, has meant that Guernsey's agricultural industry has gone into a steep decline. The situation has been further exacerbated by much of the land being used as building land to accommodate the influx of people working in the finance sector. Despite its' decline the potato is still an important crop, so much so, the States of Guernsey have worked with the States of Jersey to finance the anti Colorado beetle campaign. There has been a decline in the number of dairy farmers in Guernsey (two herds left) (Marr 2001).

Horticulture

There is little doubt that the glasshouses did suffer the effects of the war and the occupation. Guernsey's glasshouse area had been reduced by approximately 300 verges by the end of the war. However the industry quickly recovered and the Experimental and Advisory Service was set up to support the industry. (A States Dept). Flower exports rose, as for the tomato industry, by 1947 seven million twelve pound chips were exported annually. During the early 1980s increased oil prices and competition from the Continent meant that many growers could no longer afford to

continue growing and many greenhouses fell into disrepair. One area of concern for horticulture has been the ability to find staff and consequently many staff in the horticultural industry now come from Portugal and are on short term contracts (Marr 2001).

Fishing

Fishing has declined in the Island mostly due to the fishing war between the French and the Island. Restricted fishing zones and conflict with the French have had a detrimental effect on the economic viability of fishing as a trade in the Island.

In 1978 sea fisheries increased in volume and the value of exports. Shellfish in the form of lobsters and crabs as well as crawfish and prawns made the trade economically viable again until the mid 1980s when Belgian and UK trawlers caused havoc to the local fisherman due to their fishing activities damaging the strings of pots used for collecting the shellfish. This situation was eventually resolved in 1984 and Guernsey potters accepted a more restricted area for their fishing (Marr 2001).

Quarrying

After the war the quarrying trade changed in nature, it became capital intensive as opposed to labour intensive due to machinery and demand changed from granite to be used for masonry to crushed granite of fine grades that could be used as aggregate for concrete and roads. Stone- dressers were hard to find. Only two quarries remained in operation by the 1950s and most granite quarried was used locally. (De Lisle 1975). In 1987 exportation of granite ceased. In 1997 one of the two remaining quarries closed and the final quarry, Les Vardes, has rapidly diminishing stocks.

Tourism

After the occupation and evacuation Guernsey was not really in a condition to receive visitors, beaches had been mined and surrounded with barbed wire and homes, hotels and guesthouses had been neglected for a five year period. Resources on the Island remained limited but all this seemed to offer the visitor a curiosity value and soon the visitors were arriving in the Islands in ever greater numbers. In 1947 67000 tourists arrived, this was the first year after the lifting of post- Liberation travel restrictions (*Billets d'Etat* 1947-1977). Today Guernsey's tourist industry is in steep decline. It is difficult to obtain local staff to work in hotels due to low wages in the area and consequently staff are employed from other countries, particularly Portugal, on short term summer contracts.

Finance

One very important by-product of Guernsey's tax system has been the growth in the finance industry. The finance industry first began to be established soon after the Second World War in the 1950's. By 1999 the finance industry employed approximately ten percent of the Island's total population, some 6000 people, and these people between them contributed over fifty percent of the Islands Income Tax Revenue. The industry is international with sixty-five percent of all deposits on the Island in currencies other than sterling (Marr 2001).

Perhaps one downside to the growth in the finance industry has been the growth in numbers of people brought into the Islands to provide the service. (1981 – 1986 an increase of 2169 people, *Island Census* 1986). Such numbers have placed increasing

demands upon the infrastructure. This has resulted in a property boom where demand outstrips supply. Many local people have found themselves priced out of the local housing market.

Education

Those schools that had remained as a unit during the evacuation and occupation period returned to the Island after the liberation with established curriculum's that more readily mirrored that of the U.K. Local children, who had remained on the Island, and were now of an age and academic ability to join their returning peers at these schools, found it difficult to integrate due to the fact they had studied different subjects and different books. Local children who had remained on the Island were warned that their contemporaries, who had evacuated, might be more advanced than them academically, the truth of this is debatable as many who evacuated had also experienced periods of educational instability due to moving around the U.K. and the disruptive effects of the air raids. After the occupation the number of schools increased to meet demand and four secondary schools, two grammar schools, two colleges and private schools were established.

In the past year the States of Deliberation agreed to large scale capital investments which will see all five of the Islands secondary schools being replaced with four new secondary schools, a sixth form extension being built on the existing Grammar School site, a new College of Further Education to replace the existing one, on a new site and new buildings and services to meet the increased demand from children with special needs. It is anticipated that this programme of development will take place over the next fifteen years.

Social Life

Initially when evacuees returned to the Island, they found little to do compared with the lifestyles they had enjoyed on the mainland. Cinemas were still in operation but some had closed down, St Georges Hall provided a venue for roller skating, dances, trade shows and even a pantomime on ice. The beaches were still mined and barbed wire was yet to be removed from some of them. Churches continued to provide some with a social life. The Salvation Army once again arranged for their soldiers (congregation) to meet on Thursday afternoons for picnics and gradually as the evacuees returned the numbers of those who met increased.

Following the war there was a post war slump in Guernsey, and much work to be done rebuilding the devastation to property that had ensued over the previous five years. A month after the Liberation King George VI and Queen Elizabeth visited the Island, and soon after those who had evacuated began to return home in their thousands. The evacuees were soon followed by tourists and people brought into the Island to help rebuild it, consequently there was a need to modernise an Island that throughout the war had remained in a time warp due to its isolation from the rest of the world.

The biggest problem Guernsey faces today is the size of its population, 58,681 in 1996. in other words two thousand two hundred and forty-five people per square mile (*Island Census* 1996). Such large numbers of people make huge demands on the Island in terms of the infrastructure and social and leisure requirements. Consequently Guernsey today is a very different Island to that of 1945.

The States Recreation Committee is responsible for indoor and outdoor sporting sites on the Island which consist of Beau Sejour leisure centre, which has just been totally refurbished at a cost of over seven million pounds and is due to be opened in June 2003, it provides a venue for swimming, roller skating, theatre, cinema, concerts, trade fairs and exhibitions and conferences, Footes Lane Athletic Track which was built in 2001, Delancy Park which provides football, lawn bowls and cricket, Victoria Avenue a football pitch, La Vallette, outdoor salt water pools and Fort Le Marchant rifle range.

The Island also offers more sedentary leisure pursuits. St James' Concert Hall, a centre for cultural entertainment in the Island, provides a home for concerts, recitals and discussions. Candie museum is an award- winning museum. In addition to the above there are a multitude of organisations and societies on the Island, offering a wide range of activities to meet virtually all requirements.

The social life of the Guernsey resident has, since the war, become more reliant upon organised and structured activities rather than the more informal past times of picnicking and family get- together .

It is difficult to state with any certainty which of the changes outlined above, were the direct result of the war and which were the result of natural 'evolution'. It would appear reasonable to assume that many of the changes resulted from the increased expectations of Islanders who had experienced life in the U.K. after being evacuated. Some changes were the result of a need to continue to improve upon the standard of life which was established shortly after the war by successful Island industries, such as tourism and growing, and given the limited natural resources of the Island, and the

limited land, opportunities to diversify into other industries were also limited. Finally other changes were the result of a natural progression experienced in all parts of the western world.

Overview

The significance of this chapter is that it demonstrates that Guernsey, like a phoenix, has risen from the ashes of the occupation period. It is a wealthy Island that has been, and continues to be successful because of its ability to reinvent itself. It remains flexible and adaptable and has an enviable economy. The apparent high quality of life and high standard of living on the Island, have acted like a magnet for people in various parts of the world and this has led to the island becoming a victim of its own success, in that the large increase in population has led to increased pressures on the infrastructure, overcrowding and a less united Island. The previously close social networks are quickly being eroded. The more negative aspects have only become influential in the past twenty years. This suggests that for all intents and purposes Islanders, both evacuated and occupied, after the initial period of deprivation following the aftermath of the war, have enjoyed a prolonged period of prosperity.

Chapter 4

THE EXPERIENCE OF WAR ON CHILDREN: Evacuation, Separation and Attachment.

Introduction

Although the main focus of this research is the children of Guernsey, the separation experience affected thousands of children throughout the world during World War II. Before examining the academic literature on the effects of separation it would be prudent to compare the experiences of children from various parts of the world. There is a multitude of anecdotal literature in books and on the internet that deals with childhood experiences of war and clearly it is not possible within the confines of this thesis to examine this literature in any depth so the following is a *very* brief look at a broad outline of the literature on war experiences of children.

In literature, the effects of war on children have been studied from a variety of different stances. Perhaps the most shocking victimisation of children in any war during the twentieth century was the murder of 1.5 million Jewish children in Nazi concentration camps. Deborah Dwork's *Children with a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe* (1991) draws on diaries and oral history to demonstrate how Jewish children fought to retain a sense of humanity in a world of abuse and torture. Whilst George Eisen in *Children and Play in the Holocaust: Games among the Shadows* (1988), suggests that children remain children whatever the circumstances they find themselves in. His book outlines the ways in which Jewish children incorporated their surroundings into their games.

The long term impact of war on children is depicted in Roberta Apfel and Bennet Simon's *Minefield in Their Hearts: The Mental Health of Children in War and Communal Violence* (1996). The book examines the role of post traumatic stress disorder and a child's life as a refugee.

Some books proffer conflicting evidence regarding the long term effects of war on children. In *Children in Conflict* (Fraser 1973) it is suggested that there is significant trauma in children who grew up during the conflicts of Northern Ireland, however Harbison (1983) finds no evidence of war trauma in children from Northern Ireland. Possibly, the definition of trauma used may account for this or the time difference of ten years may be an important variable.

The historiography of children in war frequently reflects the historiography of children in peacetime, that is: education, child welfare, child rearing practices and the effect of popular culture on the child. Some have suggested that children are frequently the beneficiaries of war. In *Family, Dependence and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France 1914-1945*, Pedersen (1993) explains that the effect of the two World Wars on the economy and changes in social attitudes have led to the creation of government social welfare programmes which were aimed at aiding children. A similar stance was taken by Dwork in *War is Good for Babies and Other Young Children: A history of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England 1899-1918* (1987).

The Youth of Vichy France by Halls (1997), offers an entirely different perspective to studying the effects of war on children. Its rationale is the efforts to help French

youth overcome the issues they may have, resulting from firstly being defeated by the Germans and then having to co-operate with them. A second book on the youth of Vichy explains how war time conditions led officials in the Vichy criminal justice system to see juvenile delinquents as victims rather than criminals and how in turn this led to a therapeutic model for dealing with delinquents (Fishman 2001).

Other areas where much has been written include, the effects of being a boy soldier (Brown 1990; Barnitz 1997) and the way society has failed these children by not having suitable laws in place to protect them (Goodwin-Gill 1994). The concept of child soldiers has increasingly been brought to the public's attention in the past decade. A further area of interest is how societies pass on the lessons that can be learned from war to the next generation. Sometimes this is done in order not to prevent future wars but to continue existing ones (Penn 1999; Kirschenbaum 2000; Heathorn 2000).

The above literature, whilst interesting, does not provide answers to the research questions of this thesis. In pursuance of these answers I now turn my attention to literature which relates to the separation experiences of children due to war and how those separation experiences were handled. Separation experiences usually relate to the mother child relationship but for this thesis I should like to expand that concept to include the father and siblings.

Perhaps the most significant act during the Second World War in Britain which led to the most separations of child from parent was the evacuation. The British plan was for a voluntary evacuation of children. It was up to the parents to decide if they

wanted their children evacuated. The evacuation included mothers with children under 5 years old, pregnant women, and some disabled individuals. Eventually the elderly were also added to the evacuation. The Government planned on moving about 3 million people from Britain's major cities. The plan entailed moving the children from the cities and big towns by train and road. Most were moved by train, but buses were also utilised. The children were to be moved to smaller towns and country villages where bombing raids were less likely.

The evacuations were mostly conducted through the schools with the children accompanied by their teachers. Whilst the actual evacuation from the cities was orderly and well managed, the same cannot be said of the reception points in the countryside. The placement of children was the responsibility of the local authorities. Some had prepared properly, some had not. Chaos ensued at many reception points as train loads of children began arriving in the countryside. Host families had signed up to care for the children, but there were insufficient volunteers to home the large numbers of children. At many locations trains arrived with new groups of children even before the first group had been processed. Consequently children were almost forced on anyone whom it was considered had homes big enough to take them, irrespective of the home owner's age and circumstances (Berwick Sayers 1949).

There is little doubt that for many the evacuation experience was positive and provided them with new opportunities and lifestyles they had not been used to and families who genuinely cared for their new charges. For others there was abuse, loneliness, humiliation and the inability to fit in to their new homes, (Parsons and

Starns 1999) Women often tell a less enthusiastic story than men. Perhaps they were less resilient, perhaps they were more emotional or at least society allowed them to be, perhaps they were more likely to be taken advantage of (Raynor 2003). The literature suggests families were difficult to place together and were frequently separated, boys in their early teens were considered useful for carrying out the farm duties previously carried out by young men who had enlisted. Teenage girls often found themselves in domestic service replacing former employees who had gone to work in better paid jobs in munitions factories. The most difficult group to find homes for appear to have been young boys (Parsons and Starns 1999).

Parsons and Starns (1999) in *Evacuation: The true Story*, tell an alternative story to the usual positive portrayal of a united Britain keen to “do its bit” for the war effort by taking into their homes evacuated children. They criticise the government’s policy of evacuation, which had in fact been planned as far back as 1934. They suggest that the policy evolved more out of political considerations than humanitarian concern. Their book, as do many autobiographies, some by well known public figures such as Clare Raynor (2003) tells heart rending stories of abuse and hardships and question whether children really were safer for being evacuated. For whilst although the children were physically safe from the bombing, many experienced a different type of damage - emotional and psychological, that stayed with them for the rest of their lives.

In William Tuttle’s (1995) – *Daddy’s Gone to War* the claim is made that those Americans who were born or those who came of age during World War II were profoundly affected by the experience. Professor Tuttle is a historian who studied

child psychology and his book of extracts from 2500 letters sent to him by Americans who were children between 1940 and 1945 provides an insightful examination of the experiences of children and young people at that time. His years of experience as an academic combined with his own personal first hand understanding of the situation has enabled him to weave child psychological development into the social and political changes that have resulted from the period.

Tuttle describes the emotional impact of significant events on a micro level such as: departing fathers who might never be seen again, health, nutrition and changes in domestic life which resulted from mothers leaving the home to join in the war effort. He also investigates changes on a macro level: the dilution of identity, the development and utilisation of state provision of child care, the conversion of America from a rural to an urban nation and the undermining of the traditional gender roles. Tuttle's writings reflect not only the psychological effects of war on children but also the transforming role which war has.

It is easy to forget that during the Second World War German children were also innocent victims of the war. Samuel Wolfgang, (2002) author of *German Boy* compiled a collection of interviews with twenty six German Jews and gentiles who grew up during World War II. All the boys were displaced and without fathers. They all told stories of hunger and fear, mostly fear of being buried alive. Some told stories of abuse. Most spoke highly of their mothers with whom they had remained. One interesting aspect of Wolfgang's book is how many of the boys, despite seeing adults being treated badly and mothers being raped, still described the enemy as being "kind".

Separation experiences are no respecters of religion or race and all children affected by war are subjected to the same range of experiences how children deal with these experiences will now be dealt with in the rest of this section.

Previous Research On The Effects Of The Evacuation Experience

Studies on the effects of war on children, from World War II to the present have presented different paradigms and have yielded mixed results. Some researchers reported non-significant differences between children exposed to different degrees of violence, suggesting “adaptation” or “habituation” (Nashef, 1992; Jensen and Shaw, 1993) that is to say, the strength of the child’s anxiety and other psychological responses decreased with repeated exposure to war stimuli. Others focused on the parent- child relationship, pointing out the detrimental absence of a caring parent to act as a buffer against trauma (Despert, 1942; Freud and Burlingham, 1943). Whilst others suggested that developmental tasks are interrupted by war, which negatively affects how children view themselves, others and society and consequently affect lives in the long term (Martin-Baro, 1990 and Tortorici – Picado 1988).

The results of a study by Flores (1999) on the effects of war on the psychological functioning of children contrast to some extent with research conducted during or after World War II on samples from Western Europe and the United States, (Despert 1942; Greenbaum, Erlich & Toubiana 1993; Nashef 1992; Ziv, Kruglanski & Shulman 1974). These studies found no significant differences between groups of children who were exposed or not exposed to war.

Incongruent findings led to researchers turning their attention to the concept of vulnerability and resistance to psychopathology based on both environmental

circumstances and individual differences. Flores (1999) found children exposed directly to war showed a significantly higher incidence of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD, APA 1994); a higher incidence of behaviour problems and also problems with psychosocial competence but significantly lower levels of depression. Children who had friends wounded or killed in war and those who experienced parental separation due to war showed a higher incidence of PTSD. Children who had friends wounded or killed in the war but who were in a lower grade at school show a higher incidence of behavioural problems (Flores 1999). School attendance appears to be an important determinant of higher levels of psychosocial competence. Physical threat is only one stressor that contributes to increased psychopathology. Other stressors include: deprivation of physical and emotional needs due to military rule and control hunger, under nourishment, cramped or temporary living conditions, poor housing, lack of social support and medical assistance and here there can be no argument, the occupied children and some of the evacuated children experienced all of these (Montes 1984).

Preschool children are dependent on adults for their nurture and safety. They are helpless and passive when threatened and thus require the assistance and support of adults to ward off the threat. Young children do not have the ability to imagine ways they can prevent or alter trauma and feel defenceless. Their response is often to go to sleep in an attempt to avoid a stressful situation. Often in the aftermath of trauma young children may appear mute or withdrawn and this silence can be misconstrued as meaning the event has been forgotten, however at a later point in time the child may give a full account of the traumatic event to a trusted person (Eth and Pynoos 1985).

The most common responses to trauma in children include separation and stranger anxiety, fear of being alone or going to sleep, nightmares, sleep disturbances and sleep talking (Ainsworth et al 1974). Despite claims of resilience in children, they, in fact, have a limited tolerance to sadness and may resort to denial in order to decrease feelings of pain and postpone the mourning process. It is possible that competent and resourceful carers can help to provide a buffer to trauma in young children, was this the case with those children who were evacuated without parents?

Psychological trauma occurs when an individual is exposed to an overwhelming event resulting in helplessness in the face of intolerable danger, anxiety and instinctual arousal. It is an intense sensory – perceptual experience, often resulting in intrusive memories, unconscious re- enactments, startle reactions, recurrent nightmares, fear of recurrence, avoidance behaviours, cognitive and affective impairment, interpersonal relationship difficulty and impulse control problems (Eth & Pynoos 1985).

Giardino, Everly Jr and Dusek (1997) have suggested that a traumatic event shatters the cognitive assumption that life is “fair” or that the world is “just” or “good”. This violation or challenge to an individual’s assumption about life and the world around him or her affects a hypersensitivity to perceptions of threat, demoralization and panic (Giardino et al 1997).

Research suggests that important childhood psychosocial developmental tasks of trust vs mistrust and industry vs inferiority (Erikson 1968; Garbarino and Kostelny 1993; Martin – Baro 1990 and Tortorici – Picado 1988,) may be interrupted by war experience. A prolonged state of “normal abnormalcy” may affect how children

view themselves and others, their trust in other people may be eroded and they may be hindered in their attempts to view their parents as protectors and rescuers of physical and psychological stressors.

Trauma victims of all ages report difficulty re- establishing trust after the event, but children appear to be especially vulnerable to a collapse of both basic trust and autonomy. This is consonant with an Eriksonian (1963) model of psychosocial stages, according to which basic trust and autonomy would be expected to be less consolidated in young children than adults. The caregivers' ability to cope with the trauma, and willingness to discuss the traumatic event openly and honestly helps to mediate the child's response (Lyons 1987).

Childhood psychic trauma appears to be a crucial etiological factor in the development of a number of serious disorders both in childhood and in adulthood. Childhood trauma acts as a catalyst for a range of different psychological problems which may lead to a definable mental condition (Terr 1991). According to Terr (1991) four characteristics related to childhood trauma that appear to last for long periods of life, no matter what diagnosis the patient eventually receives are:

- Visualised or otherwise repeatedly perceived memories of the traumatic event.
- Repetitive behaviours.
- Trauma specific fears
- Changed attitudes about people life and the future.

Whilst their responses to trauma may be similar to an adult's, children's development, age- related needs and levels of maturity make the impact of trauma

qualitatively different for them. This has implications for the management and treatment of the trauma reaction in children. Even infants are sensitive to and react to disruption of their environments, particularly if primary caregivers are traumatised, creating psychological and developmental risks. To rely purely on overt demonstrations of distress ignores the child's thoughts, feelings and ideas and the effects that the experience may have had on these. The result is the child is left to cope alone and whilst channelling energy into dealing with the trauma the child's developmental progress may be impaired (Terr 1991).

Proximity, health, previous experience, relationship to a victim, developmental stage and impact on parents, all influence the traumatising potential of a discrete event on a particular child. Short term traumatic responses are (as previously stated, fear, insecurity, nightmares, event related discourse and play, regression, emotional withdrawal, irritability, aggression, disorganisation, confusion and disorientation. Medium term responses (more than a year from the event) include stress, poor health, emotional instability, reduced concentration, mood and personality changes (including negativity and conduct disorders). Long term responses include: entrenched disordered functioning, avoiding challenges and novel situations and failure to develop "normal" life skills such as trust, a range of emotional expression and future goals (Spik & Wolf 1946).

Some children experience amnesia for parts of the experience but many experience recurrent intrusive thoughts and engage in avoidance strategies such as excessive busyness and talking to ward off unsolicited flashbacks. Children often avoid discussing their distress with parents for fear of upsetting them. Teachers are often

unaware of the impact of trauma on children's moods and ability to concentrate (Swenson, & Klingman 1993).

Response to trauma is clearly mediated by developmental maturity; the cognitive methods employed; ability to regulate emotions, to perform specific tasks (such as mourning) and dependency on the relationship between the parent and child (Badman 1941).

Attachment

This evacuation and occupation research, whilst acknowledging the possible influences of the importance of degrees of war exposure and the long term effects of interrupted development, will concentrate more on relationship issues resulting from separation.

It is the intention of this research to look for factors which offer us the potential to understand why, in some cases, the parent- child bond seemed to be irretrievably damaged by the evacuation or occupation experience, whilst in other cases the parent -child relationship remained intact and apparently undamaged despite five years of separation. To this end it is appropriate, at this point, to carry out a literature review of work which relates to separation experiences.

Attachment theory, as we know it today is the result of evolutionary theory, ethology, systems theory and developmental psychology. Bowlby (1958) stated that attachment behaviour was a biological response to the infants need to be protected. By the end of the 1960s Bowlby believed that children could have multiple attachments (Bowlby 1969/1982). The development and organisation of these

attachments impact upon the child's development and future relationships. (Howe 1999; Solomon and George 1999).

Freud et al (1973) believed that the absence of a close continuous relationship with a caring mother spells doom for the psychological well being of the child. In other words, breaking the mother-child bond results in loss of confidence and self-esteem as well as a loss of a sense of right or wrong, and an inability to trust others.

Children appear to be vulnerable to a collapse of both basic trust and autonomy (Lyons 1987). This is consonant with the findings of Erikson (1963) and the psychosocial stages according to which basic trust and autonomy would be expected to be less consolidated in children than adults.

Mowbray (1988) believed that the limited cognitive capacity of children made them egocentric: they view the world only from their own perspective and assume that everything is directed at them. They believe themselves to be omnipotent and view situations in terms of black or white, good or bad. They are orientated towards punishment and obedience or hedonism. They are likely to assume blame for harm to others and expect imminent justice in the form of punishment. They believe that they can bring about situations due to bad behaviour or thoughts. Children see themselves as victims and assume they deserved the negative things that happen to them. The potential consequences of these factors will be borne in mind in this research.

The main aim of attachment is to maintain a state of equilibrium in the child when confronted with a frightening or traumatic situation. This is usually achieved via

attachment figures who are parental figures although this is not a necessity.

Attachment figures offer more than affection they offer security and protection.

Van De Kolk (1987) claimed that disruptions of attachment during infancy can lead to lasting neurobiological changes. Lack of parental response to separation typically results in biphasic protest/despair response that can lead to hyperactivity or under activity of the neurotransmitter systems. In adulthood the effects of childhood separation may lead to panic attacks and cyclical depression. This would suggest that there exists the potential for lasting psychobiological changes which may result in clinical syndromes. The developmental stage at which the separation takes place may influence the severity, duration and degree of reversibility of the psychobiological damage.

Recently, retrospective research carried out by Diane Foster (2000) at University College London, suggested that people who were evacuated as children during World War II are likely to experience emotional problems. She states that many children who had been evacuated have since had difficulties in maintaining relationships and have suffered from depression and anxiety. She questioned 169 former evacuees and 43 people from the same generation who had not been evacuated. She found that the former evacuees were more likely to have had emotional and psychological problems.

Separation from parents was found to be an important reason for the child's problems in later life. However, some of those interviewed did report abuse or had experienced

bombing and it is possible that these variables may have been responsible for the long term outcomes. The study also found that the younger the children had been when they evacuated the more likely they were to experience problems in later life.

Numerous studies have demonstrated that early life experiences can have lasting effects on development. The establishment of personal relationships is an important part of growing up and a child's first ties with his family constitute an important first step in this process (Rutter 1972). However Clarke (1976) claimed the consequences of deprivation are far from permanent and irreversible because children are influenced by experiences throughout the whole of their development. He argued that not only is recovery from early deprivation possible but also that good experiences in early childhood do not necessarily protect the child from stresses later in life. Furthermore the damage which follows separation is not inevitable. Research findings consistently bear testament to those children who do not experience severe or prolonged responses to separation (Rutter 1978).

In older children the autonomous, affective, cognitive and behavioural characteristics may act as protective factors against separation experiences. In comparison, younger children are more vulnerable to parental responsiveness. In some situations separation may become routine, e.g. children of military personnel. However, when this separation is coupled with loss of culture, siblings and there exists a perception that one's life might be in danger, the separation is more traumatic (Jensen and Shaw 1993).

Children aged up to approximately six or seven years are dependent upon adults for their nurturance. They are helpless and passive when confronted with threatening

situations. Younger children often feel defenceless and this can show itself in them becoming withdrawn. This withdrawal does not mean the event has been forgotten or been dealt with. Years later the event can be recalled in detail to a trusted person (Macksoud et al 1993).

McKendrick (1988) carried out a survey of aborigines who had been separated from their families and communities during their childhood. The separations were on the grounds of “welfare”, not because families had voluntarily relinquished them or because parents were deceased. She found that the separated people were twice as likely to suffer psychological distress than people who were not separated. Factors offering protection against the development of depression and other distress included a strong identity, frequent contact with one’s extended family and knowledge of one’s culture.

Cultural differences in child rearing suggest that the use of multiple mothering can provide a healthy continuity of care and a buffer against separation trauma (Mead 1962). Kagan (1984) describes a nomadic tribe in Africa, that believes the child is best served if nursed by someone other than its mother and later the child is cared for by different people in the tribe. Clearly more scientific information is required to evaluate these different approaches to child rearing but they do suggest that the important point may be consistent mothering or social support rather than the requirement of a biological mother per se.

Cassidy (1999) suggests there is a difference between attachment relationships and attachment bonds. Attachment bonds develop over time and the bond is not

necessarily reciprocated. Cassidy (1999) outlines six criteria which must be met before an affectional bond can develop:

- The bond exists over time
- It is emotionally significant
- It relates to a specific person
- Continued close proximity is desired
- Distress results if the child is separated from the individual
- Comfort from fear and stress is sought from a person deemed to be stronger and wiser.

The way in which children's attachments develop will be in part as a response to the caregivers behaviour. The culture and time will also play a role. Emotional support, sensitivity, affection and security all aid the development of attachment behaviour (Ainsworth et al 1978). Solomon and George (1999) distinguished between 3 types of parenting: those who provide a secure base; those who reject and by doing so deactivate the infants attachment behaviour; those who are uncertain and helpless and provide disorganised care-giving. Sensitivity appears to be an important criteria for parenting. The parent needs to be able to respond to the a child on an individual basis.

In recent years attachment theorists have adopted a broader focus and have suggested that children may experience multiple attachments and networks of attachments rather than just a primary attachment (Howe 1999). Howe outlines the criteria for an attachment figure as: whether the individual provides physical and emotional care for the child; whether they have a consistent presence in the child's life and whether they invested emotionally in the child. Howe believes that children not only experience

multiple attachments but they also develop these attachments via numerous routes which include loss and replacement.

Loss increases fear which in turn increases the need for attachment. If a child is separated from an attachment figure it has been suggested that the child will react to that loss in accordance with their previous attachment experiences. In order to successfully navigate a loss children need to be able to express their feelings. (Aldgate 2005).

A child's response to loss will be influenced by their caregivers response to them. This implies the need for caregivers to understand the significance of the child's attachment relationships. (Aldgate 2005). The Western view is that where multiple attachments exist a hierarchy also exists with the most influential attachment figure at the top. Alternative approaches have been suggested, one being that the child's multiple attachments are integrated and therefore the child's perceptions will be based not on individual attachments but on the quality of the whole network (Howe 1999). A further approach argues that different attachments influence different aspects of the child's life and consequently their development (Howe 1999).

Clearly developments in this area are providing for a more complex and holistic approach to understanding the concept of attachment. What has been acknowledged partly as the result of cross cultural research in the area is that all children need to feel secure and that a pre-requisite for this is a sensitive response from the caregiver.

This occupation and evacuation research investigates relationships throughout the participants lives and is not just confined to a five year period between 1940 and

1945. Consequently it is appropriate to consider the relationship between attachment in childhood and relationships in adulthood.

Generally speaking it is accepted that there will be continuities between attachment in childhood and adulthood. However, attachment is dynamic and consequently life events will influence outcomes (Aldgate 2005).

Attachment is a process of negotiation over time and different developmental stages. Changes in attachment environments may lead, if handled with sensitivity, to changes in perception (Butler et al 2003). There is also evidence to suggest that the influence of attachment experiences may be transferred down the generations (Berlin and Cassidy 1999; Howe 1995). A caregivers own childhood attachments may influence their behaviour (Solomon & George 1999; Howe 1999). This rather deterministic belief does appear to limit the dynamic capacity of attachment and more recent research on attachment theory offers a more optimistic view focusing on the concepts of change and growth over an individual's lifespan (Aldgate 2005).

Contemporary thinking on children's development focuses on the developmental-ecological model. This model suggests that development is a process which involves interactions between the child and his/her environment. That different pathways may lead to the same developmental outcome and that whilst abuse or separation from loved ones in traumatic circumstances may affect a child's development, whether the outcome is positive or not will be due to a range of other factors (Aldgate 2005).

One important aspect of the developmental – ecological model is that it offers a way of assessing factors which impact on a child's development. Coping strategies;

parental and family support; psychological support and policies which provide protection are all factors which can influence outcomes (Jones and Ramchandani 1999).

There are many influences that will shape the developing child and the outcome for an individual throughout and beyond childhood. Some are within the child, such as genetic factors. Others are from outside such as physical, psychological and family influences as well as the wider neighbourhood and cultural influences. Traumatic events such as abuse or separation can lead to derailment or disruption in the developmental processes. Subsequent influences on a child can either be ameliorating or further potentiate the effect of early damage.

(Jones & Ramchandani 1999, In Aldgate 2005 p8).

What has been increasingly acknowledged is the need to place the child's experience within the context of the environment in which he/she lives, hence the ecological theory. This theory emphasises the importance of layers of social systems and the role of culture. The role of identity is also significant in that in some cultures the concept of self and therefore self esteem is bound up with belonging to ones group or community (Rashid 1996; Woodhead et al 1998).

Overview

It is generally accepted then that the environment in which a child exists can effect their development and their life (Rutter and Rutter 1992), and as changes in the environment are inevitable this implies that the influences on a child may also change. According to Schaffer (1992) children are not permanently at the mercy of

their past experiences however traumatic those experiences might have been as those experiences may be modified by subsequent experiences. Schaffer (1992) goes as far as suggesting that children shape their own development through their own behaviour and the way they interact with significant others.

Rutter (1985), believes that children are resilient and that they can reach their optimal potential even in stressful situations provided they have a sense of self esteem, are able to adapt, they have a range of coping strategies and believe in their own self efficacy. Lansdown (2001), stated that children had the potential, if they were empowered, to meet their own needs and could acquire adult competencies.

Schaffer (1992) suggests that the traditional view of child development and attachment that focused on predominantly the mother-child relationship was too narrow and that the family environment is as important as any single relationship within it.

In considering the consequences which follow separation it is important to acknowledge a host of other variables which may affect the outcome including the pattern of care during the separation, the child's age at the time of the separation, the child's maturity or developmental stage and the quality of the relationships both before and after the separation (Rutter 1972).

Research on child development is constantly evolving to provide us with new dimensions of understanding a complex situation. Research will, out of necessity, be influenced by the period in which it is carried out. To date, cross cultural research

would suggest that it is limiting to believe that there is only one right way to bring up children.

Sibling Relationships

The relationships that exist between brothers and sisters have often been called life's most influential and longest lasting relationships. They may last longer than those with parents, spouses, friends or children (Bank & Kahn, 1997). Folklore, biblical stories, many autobiographies and biographies concentrate on the role between siblings and the effect they have on development. It was not until the 1980s that the influence of sibling relationships received attention from developmental psychologists, researchers and clinicians (Boer & Dunn 1992).

The range of sibling relationships is the result of a complex interplay of influential factors such as, gender, birth order, temperament, age and experiences. Sibling relationships are also embedded in the family and influenced by parenting behaviours, marital quality and family conflict (Boer & Dunn 1992; Stoneman & Brody 1998; Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998). Although the research is not clear on what impact many of these variables have on brother and sister relationships, some effects appear with notable consistency. Among them is the role of the emotional climate of the family-marital conflict and marital satisfaction, in sibling relationships. Sibling conflict appears to be more frequent among brothers and sisters from homes where there are high levels of conflict. A high level of marital discord appears to result in high levels of sibling aggression among children (Boer & Dunn 1992; Patten 2000). While a sibling bond can become more intense when parental care is emotionally unfulfilling or unavailable, the intensified bond can either be helpful or harmful to the children's relationship depending on the attitudes and behaviours of the parents

and the personalities of the children (Bank & Kahn, 1997; Boer & Dunn 1992).

Brothers and sisters typically spend large amounts of time together, they act as one another's first playmates and companions. It is not surprising that sibling relationships influence social and cognitive learning. Research supports what many parents observe first hand about younger children imitating older siblings: older children serve as effective teachers of a variety of skills from early childhood through the middle years when time with peers increases (Azmitia & Hesser 1993).

The social skills children acquire from their relationships with brothers and sisters extend beyond the home, influencing interactions with peers. However, poor sibling relationships do not necessarily mean poor peer relationships; other factors may be at work e.g. the parent-child relationship. Negative parenting practices such as coercive discipline and inadequate parental monitoring can combine with parental tolerance of sibling conflict often leading to high levels of negative sibling interactions (Patten 2000).

Moderate amounts of sibling conflict can play a beneficial role in social interactions with peers. Conflict, between siblings, is a common occurrence and co-exists with periods of positive sibling interactions and with periods of relative calm (Newman 1994). The important factor is the level of conflict balanced with the level of warmth or support in the relationship between siblings that seems to determine the effect sibling conflict has on children. Home environments where siblings experience moderate levels of conflict along with moderate levels of warmth and support may help children develop important pro-social skills and skills of conflict negotiation (Stormshak et al, 1996). It may be that siblings serve as a relational bridge to

effective peer relationships, allowing siblings to hone skills of social competence that they can use throughout their lives (Bigelow et al 1996).

Loss of siblings may have many consequences among them loss of self-esteem, especially, if prior to the loss the sibling was involved in the role of care-taking of younger siblings; loss of a constant in life; loss of, possibly, a confidante or best friend and loss of a source of sharing, advice and approval. The result may be an inability to trust and form lasting relationships as adults (The people they trusted had separated them). This in turn may have detrimental effects on psychological and physical well being (Ryff and Singer 2000).

Mental health experts are beginning to recognise the significance of the power of the sibling relationship. It is probably, as previously stated, longer lasting and more influential than any other relationship. When it is severed the damage can last a lifetime and this has proved the case in the evacuation and occupation research.

In the past it was assumed that parent – child relationships sowed the seeds of adult behaviour but this research would like to suggest that the interplay between siblings also exerts a powerful life long force. The sibling relationship has been a neglected topic in the social sciences especially in adulthood.

The bond between brothers and sisters is unique – it is usually the longest lasting relationship most people have. Whilst the bond may wax and wane a person's life-time quest for personal identity is undeniably interwoven with his or her siblings. In early childhood siblings are constant companions, via games and conversations they learn to interact with the wider community. During adolescence ties may

weaken as the adolescent exerts their individuality and independence. In adulthood concentration is on their own families and this usually takes precedence over the relationship with each other however, sibling ties can emerge stronger during this period. Siblings often want to share their adult struggles and triumphs with each other. The cycle of the sibling bond comes full circle when the siblings reach old age after their parents and spouses may be gone and their children have children of their own. The bond between them often intensifies as they become each other's companions once again (Patten 1999). The bond exists in children raised in well adjusted families but may be even stronger for siblings from dysfunctional families. They learn to depend on each other and co-operate with each other to cope with common family specific problems.

Separating children in foster care or institutions adds to their emotional burdens. They have already had to cope with the loss of parents. If they are separated from siblings they have to repeat the grieving process.

Sometimes, especially in dysfunctional families, it is only through their siblings that children have been able to gain any positive self-esteem. Siblings are often able to reveal to each other parts of themselves that they are reluctant to share with anyone else and this further strengthens the bond (Patten 1999). Children who are separated from brothers and sisters may never resolve their feelings of loss, furthermore, sibling separation may result in siblings becoming vulnerable to future stresses. The separation process in childhood may be perceived as traumatic and lead to post traumatic stress disorders especially when they are confronted with events that remind them of the separation.

Siblings who experience long term separation may remain vulnerable to future separations or losses. This vulnerability to future stress may relate to their own children and the way they parent. It is possible that they may become over protective of their own children, passing the impact of their loss on to the next generation. Such vulnerability sometimes results in a pessimistic style of thinking that colours all their life. The loss of a sibling is a profound experience that shapes an individual and may have life long consequences including influencing health and well being. Research in this area is conflicting for whilst some point to the benefits of supportive sibling relationships (Ryff and Singer 1998), others suggest siblings are not essential for all forms of well being (Berk 1997).

Ryff and Singer (1998) have adopted a multi- disciplinary approach to looking at what the key ingredients of a healthy mental state are. They looked at six dimensions of well being: autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, purpose in life, self acceptance and positive relationships with others, including siblings. These dimensions were further influenced by age, gender, socio economic status and culture as well as the life experiences that the individual confronts. Also important to the equation was happiness, positive affect, and life satisfaction. The potential for religion and spirituality to have an influence on well being also exists. Ryff believes psychosocial well being and physical health are linked.

A common belief is that only children are lonely children. Research suggests that although sibling relationships provide for many benefits they are not essential for healthy social development (Berk 1997). Only child families have their advantages and disadvantages as well (Hawke and Knox 1997). Advantages include avoiding sibling rivalry, greater privacy and a closer parent-child relationship; disadvantages

include not having the experience of a sibling relationship, concentrated pressure from parents to be successful and being solely responsible for aging parents in later life.

One area of consensus in parent child and sibling research relates to the way in which parents behave towards their children. Studies suggest that children recognise that being treated fairly by parents does not mean being treated equally and that sometimes siblings have needs that require differential treatment by parents (Patten 1999). However, when actual preferential treatment of one sibling occurs and one sibling is treated with less affection and more coercion and punishment by parents sibling rivalry, sibling aggression and sibling avoidance is more intense (Boer & Dunn 1992). The significance of research in this area to the evacuation and occupation research is that some children were evacuated by their parents whilst brothers and sisters remained in the care of their parents and this may have been perceived as parental favouritism.

Differential parenting refers to differences in how parents behave towards one child relative to their behaviour with other children in the family. Parental behaviour that is perceived as unfair and consistently one sided has a different emotional outcome to that which is perceived as fair if different based on the siblings needs. The child's experience of differential parenting practices as unfair and inequitable moderates the adverse effects of differential parenting on the quality of the sibling relationship.

Research suggests that parental favouritism breeds hostility between siblings (Hetherington 1988). The perceived measure of how restrictive and punitive parents are towards each child have been shown to undermine the quality of the sibling relationship and provoke hostile, coercive and frequent conflict between siblings

(Boer, Goedhart & Treffers 1992; Brody, Stoneman, McCoy 1992; Hetherington 1988; McHale, Crouter & McGuire 1995). The favoured sibling will be the one likely to experience guilt or contempt for the disfavoured brother or sister, who, in turn, is likely to experience feelings of anger, resentment and jealousy toward their favoured sibling.

As previously stated conflict is common in sibling relations, it is a defining feature and first appears during early childhood (Furman & Buhrmester 1985) however, the nature of the conflict becomes more sophisticated during middle childhood and adolescence and may show itself verbally or in physical violence (Cicirelli 1995). The frequency of conflict situations provides adolescents with opportunities to develop and utilise social skills and to learn to compromise, negotiate and resolve disputes. The way in which the conflict is or is not resolved serves as an indicator of the quality of the sibling relationship. Conflict is not necessarily a problem, effective resolution can have its benefits. Conflict between people can be constructive, it is how people work to resolve conflict which determines whether or not conflict is translated into negative relationship experience (Markman, Stanley & Blumberg 1994). When siblings are able to discuss their differences openly and when they support each other and find mutually acceptable solutions then conflict can be construed as constructive and siblings can develop their social skills and their relationship with their siblings.

Theoretical models of the cognitive context in which relationships develop (Grych & Fincham 1990), suggests that these patterns of unfriendly and non supportive behaviour in the daily non conflict interactions between siblings will inevitably create a negative relationship for both children. Over time, this form of negativity

and imbalance in the behaviour of siblings when interacting with one another may lead to the sibling relationship becoming a primary destructive process in the child's family life. When children perceive that they are not treated fairly, relative to their siblings, these perceptions about parental favouritism appear to affect both the immediate everyday behaviour of the siblings as well as the quality of the longer-term relationship (Bedford 1992).

Due to the prolonged separation period of the evacuation and occupation many of the children who were separated from siblings were children at the time of the separation but adolescents at the time of the reunion. Adolescence is a critical period in a child's life for the reorganisation and development of the sibling relationship (Cicirelli 1995). For most people it is the last time in their lives that they will share so much of their daily life and be living in close proximity with their siblings. The development of negative patterns of behaviour between siblings during adolescence may have implications for the quality and continuity of sibling relationships throughout the life span.

Adult Sibling Relationships

As stated in the introduction to this research due to increased life expectancy, increased health care costs and a consequential increase in the number of elderly people in society the sibling bond is likely to become more significant in the coming years than ever before. An area worthy of research must be what contributes to co-operative and harmonious sibling relationships over the long term and the effects of sibling bonds on health and quality of life.

There are two theories that attempt to explain why some sibling relationships continue throughout life (Patten 2000). One is based on the premise that the norms we are taught as children by our parents are internalised, in other words a parent repeatedly tells children that they should be loving and supportive of their sibling. This is difficult to achieve if parents and siblings are not living together. The second theory is based on attachment. In a nationwide study of 7700 adults who had at least one living biological sibling it was found that 50% of those interviewed reported seeing or talking with their sibling at least monthly (White & Reidmann 1992). The amount of contact was highest between pairs of sisters and lowest between pairs of brothers. Brother – sister pairs fell between the two. Siblings who lived closer had most contact. The eldest child as well as siblings with higher incomes and educations and those with a living parent reported the most frequent contact. It was also found that biological siblings living in blended families of half brothers and sisters or step-brothers and sisters reported less close relationships. In 1998 Gold described five types of sibling relationships based on their involvement with each other. These included: the intimate, the congenial, the loyal, the apathetic and the hostile. These were defined as follows: the intimate siblings are very close emotionally and devoted to each other, this relationship is valued above all others. Congenial siblings are friends and whilst they place a high value on their relationship, marriage and parent – child relationships are placed before the sibling relationships. The loyal siblings base their relationships on their common family history. They maintain regular periodic contact and take part in the usual family gatherings, this sibling pair supports each other in times of crisis. Apathetic siblings rarely contact each other and feel indifferent towards each other while hostile sibling relationships are based on anger, resentment and negative feelings.

Although most researchers agree that sibling relationships change as individuals move through adulthood, they disagree about how the relationships shift. An hourglass model has been suggested (Bedford 1997), in which sibling closeness as well as interaction gradually decrease in early adulthood, are low in middle adult years and rise again in late adulthood and old age. However other research (White & Reidmann 1992), found that frequency of contact decreased with age, stabilised during middle adulthood and declined sharply in later adulthood. Interestingly the respondents viewed their siblings as friends through the life cycle. Further research found that sibling rivalry decreases and feelings of closeness increased with age (Cicirelli 1995). Clearly the results are conflicting, this may be due to the sampling methods and the cross sectional nature of the studies.

For many years researchers have been interested in the effect sibling relationships have on the well being of each other. It has been suggested that older people with living siblings have higher morale (Cumming & Henry 1961). It has also been found that elderly men with sisters were more emotionally secure than those without sisters, whilst women with sisters focused heavily on their social role (Cicirelli 1995). Sisters do appear to impact significantly on well being as the well being of older people and greater life satisfaction appears to be related to the availability of a sister (McGhee 1985). Cicirelli's research in 1995 supported McGhee when his research found that perception of a close relationship with sisters by either men or women was related to well being and fewer reported symptoms of depression. Conversely he also found that a close relationship to brothers seemed to have little relevance to well-being. This may be due to women's traditional role of nurturing and caring and the fact that they are often more expressive about emotions. Possibly siblings provide

different types of support for each other and as other significant people die they come to rely more on each other for social and emotional support.

Research suggests that the amount of help siblings are prepared to give each other depends on their childhood and adolescent relationships. This is significant to this research in examining the possible effects of sibling separation due to the evacuation or occupation.

Once they have left home as young adults the amount of help they are prepared to give each other is based on the similarity of their roles and their feelings of affection. During early and middle adulthood they provide companionship, emotional support and occasionally financial support for each other. They can usually be relied on for help during times of crisis and typically co-operate with each other in order to care for elderly parents. Many rely on and appreciate visits, telephone calls and especially value assistance during periods of ill health or when household repairs need performing or transportation is required (Goetting 1986).

Conclusion

One problem that the evacuation and occupation research will experience in placing its findings within the context of previous research is that most of the research that has taken place relates to short periods of separation whereas the evacuation and occupation separation experience for Channel Island children was for a considerable length of time – five years. Unlike U.K. children who may have been evacuated but also, in some instances, returned home to parents and family for short periods of time or had the opportunity to spend time with parents when they visited their offspring,

the Guernsey children, who were separated from parents, experienced a continuous period of separation for five years.

This research aims to examine the effect a long term separation may have had on the parent and child relationship and attempt to answer the research questions: What effect, if any, could trauma (in the form of separation) have had on the individual's relationship with parents, siblings and others; was there evidence in this research that competent and resourceful carers could provide a buffer against trauma and was there evidence of difficulties in family relationships and dynamics following separation? In addition although this research accepts that separation from familiar figures may be stressful, it believes that separation from the family may be crucial to the outcomes, rather than separation from just the mother, as children develop multiple attachments and separation from anyone to whom they are attached is likely to be stressful. In an attempt to address the research questions this thesis will look at not only the question of maternal deprivation but also other effects of the evacuation such as the effect on sibling relationships and issues of reconciliation with family, community and the Germans.

Chapter 5

METHODOLOGY

Overview

The methodology of any research is an integral component that sets the stage for the data that are to be collected and the discovery process. Methodology concerns the way in which we approach problems and seek answers. The research method utilised in this research was qualitative. Qualitative methodology refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data: people's own spoken or written words and observable behaviour (Taylor & Bogdan 1984).

Haug et al (1999) claimed that there is no 'true method' that might satisfy academic demands for rigour:

New modes of analysis suggest themselves continuously. The diversity of our methods, the numerous objections raised in the course of work with stories and our attempts at resolution, seem to suggest that there might well be no single, 'true' method that is alone appropriate to this kind of work. (p70)

Rationale for Method

The aim of the research dictated the methodology used, although personal preference, experience and training would have suggested a quantitative approach be adopted I felt that the subject matter required a qualitative approach as a quantitative approach would have limited the range of responses and limited the direction of the

research. I was entering a research situation with no prior theoretical preconceptions and I felt that analysis of the data as they were collected rather than at the end of the collection period would enable other areas to emerge that I had not prepared for, thus directing the study. In order to obtain rich data an 'unstructured' approach was adopted, this allowed me to create, refine and revise the theories as the research progressed. A more structured approach would have proved too deterministic. The difficulty which arose with the qualitative 'unstructured' approach was the enormous amount of material which was collected and analysed (forty life biographies each one relating to over sixty years of experiences) and at times this threatened the completion of the research.

The purpose of using the principles of grounded theory was to develop a theory (Glaser 1978). The basic premise of this research which underlined the chosen methodology was that there were concepts relating to the area of study which had not yet been explored or developed.

The initial aim for this research was broad – What (if any) was the impact of the evacuation and occupation experience 1940-1945, on the lives and relationships of Guernsey children and society.

The choice of a biographical approach as the vehicle for data collection for this thesis was the result of a need to understand the whole person (Runyan 1982) and the desire to produce the structure of lives as an integrated story. Through their stories people define themselves and create their identity. The story integrates the past, present and future (McAdams 1985; 1987). The story is the person's identity (Erikson, 1959). It was also the aim of this research to incorporate the, to date,

peripheral unheard voice of the children of the evacuation and occupation and it was felt that the biographical approach could best achieve this. Oral history acts as a social development which allows the voices of the marginalised to be heard for the first time (Bornat & Adams 1992). Life history methods have allowed for the rewriting of history as a result of incorporating personal experience into history (Frisch 1990) and the voice of the children of that period may add a new dimension or perspective to the official history.

Traditionally historians have viewed oral history with suspicion and scepticism tending to favour documentary research (Plummer 2001). However in recent years the status and nature of documents has come into question and attention has been drawn to the ambiguity of documents (Finnegan & Schmidt 1996). Denzin (1970) encouraged researchers to incorporate life history into their research. One way of successfully combining documents and oral history might be to utilise a method of triangulation. This research has used oral history and documentary research in this thesis.

Participants

In order to carry out this research and gain a better understanding of the effects of the evacuation and occupation on the children of Guernsey I decided to carry out detailed life history interviews of as many people as I could who fell within the four years to fifteen year age group during the period 1940 to 1945. Forty participants, fourteen males and twenty-six females were interviewed. Of the total sample twenty-eight were evacuated and twelve remained on the island throughout the occupation.

Recruitment of Participants

In 1997 when this research began the island's population was approximately 58681, (*Island Census* 1996) of these 5418 was the total number of males and females who were in the correct age range between 1940 and 1945 and who were resident on the island at the time the research was carried out. These figures do not offer an insight into how many of these people were affected by the occupation or evacuation, in other words, were part of those who were occupied or evacuated. Consequently there was a need to target the population in a more direct way rather than simply trying to contact all those who were registered as over a certain age.

Initially local medical practices were contacted to see if they would be willing to provide a list of persons who fell into the appropriate age group for the study, from the age of four years, (an age when most people have recollections of their childhood), to the age of fifteen, (school leaving age when children would have been classed as adults). This request was declined on the grounds of confidentiality and the legal requirements of the Data Protection Act. A similar request was made to the States of Guernsey Insurance Authority as I work for a States of Guernsey department and there existed, at the time, an intradepartmental computer network that could be accessed via a password. The States of Guernsey declined my request for access to information, again on the grounds of the Data Protection Act.

I then decided to approach a local free newssheet and inquired whether they would be interested in running a brief article on the proposed research, they were and an article appeared in *The Globe*(1998) a week later. The reason for approaching the free sheet was twofold, it was free to everyone, secondly *The Globe* was circulated to

a large percentage of the island (40000 people). The *Guernsey Press* (1998), which is not a free paper produced their own article based on that in *The Globe*. The article also appeared in a paper, which is issued once a week and is often sent off island to local people who wish to remain in contact with island issues. I was unaware that either of the last two papers was covering the story; they did so without my knowledge. BBC Radio Guernsey also took an interest in the research and I was interviewed on radio about the research in the week following the newspaper article.

The newspaper articles resulted in sixty- two people volunteering to take part in the research. Of the original sixty- two, forty were interviewed. The main reasons for not interviewing the remaining twenty-two were that they were unavailable to take part in interviews. Some decided not to go ahead with the interviews because they were unsure about the responses of their families. Two lived off the island and were unavailable for interviews and one decided on hearing about the research that she wanted to write her own story as a book, and although she was interviewed, at the end of the interview she withdrew permission for her story to be used.

When as part of the interview people were asked why they had come forward to be interviewed a variety of reasons were given which included: “people should know the truth”; “if you can be bothered to take an interest then the least we can do is talk to you”; and the most popular response: “my story is unique and worth hearing”.

Five years into the research BBC Radio Guernsey contacted me again wishing to put on air two radio programmes about the occupation and evacuation to coincide with the Liberation Day Celebrations for 2002 at this point I suggested they might like to involve some of the people whom I had interviewed. It was agreed that I would

contact some of the interviewees to see if they would like to appear on the radio, they were keen to take part and two one hour programmes were recorded and went on air over a two week period in May 2002.

Self Selecting

The individuals who took part in this study were self- selecting, they consciously or unconsciously determined their own involvement. Volunteering was made on the basis of informed consent and was ethical in that all those who took part knew the reason for the research, and were given the opportunity to withdraw at any time from the research. They all completed copyright forms several weeks after the interview had taken place, this gave them time to reflect upon whether they still wished to remain involved in the study. Participants were also asked for their permission to use the information they had given immediately after the interview. One chose not to give permission.

Sampling Limitations

The goal of sampling is to reduce error but this can only be truly achieved if 100 per cent of the target population is included in the research – clearly this was not feasible. Sampling error may take two forms – systematic or random. Systematic occurs when the sample reflects a bias. Random error relates directly to the size of the sample. As sample size increases random sampling error decreases.

A non- probabilistic sampling procedure of a homogenous group was used via convenience sampling. The problem with this is that inadvertently a bias may have been introduced to the research as not all those included in the group had the opportunity of taking part in the research because not all were present in the Island

and available for interview. On the other hand I did not choose the sample, they were self selecting. According to Ora (1965) many studies may be biased simply because the sample used are volunteers. Ora found that volunteers were significantly different from the norm on the following characteristics: dependence on others; insecurity; aggressiveness; introversion; neuroticism and being influenced by others. If Ora's findings are correct this would have a significant effect on the outcomes of this research which is an investigation into relationships. However Ora's research was carried out in the 1960s, a time when approximately 75 per cent of American and British psychological studies were carried out with students and this may have accounted for the findings.

A further reason for the self selecting sample leading to a bias outcome is that the majority of people interviewed were resident in the island (only two lived off the island). It is possible that those who chose to live in Guernsey in the latter part of their lives viewed the island and possibly its history differently to those who did not remain on the island, this could have affected the outcomes. One must also assume that a number of people were on the Island at the time the appeal for volunteers was broadcast by the media but they chose not to come forward. This poses the question – were their stories different from those of the volunteers and if so how would this have affected the research findings?

In defence of the method chosen it is my belief that the end goal of this research was not to provide a generalised account of the long term effects of the evacuation and occupation on relationships but rather to produce an insight into individuals' real lives.

The Interview

An open- ended approach was used to commence the interview “Can you tell me your earliest childhood memory?” The interviewee was permitted to direct the conversation and its content for as long as they wished. Most interviews lasted between two and four hours but some lasted longer. This open- ended approach provided rich data and increased the likelihood that the data came from the interviewee’s thoughts, feelings and experiences rather than from a predetermined structured set of questions which may have led the interviewee or biased the interview (Denzin 1970).

There were three main reasons for using this type of interview as outlined

- It allowed respondents to use their ‘unique ways of defining the world
- It assumes that no fixed sequence of questions is suitable to all respondents
- It allows respondents to raise important issues not contained in the schedule

Probe questions were used in order to obtain specific information or obtain further details. Although not outlined to the participant, a natural semi-structured interview was developed and based on the following areas: earliest childhood memories, family life prior to, during and after the occupation and evacuation, education, health prior to, during and after the occupation/evacuation, career, social life, nuclear family and relationships with them up to the present time, relationships with significant others, perception of life experiences and coping strategies. These areas were not covered in any particularly order but taken as they arose naturally within the interview. All interviews were carried out at a time convenient to the subjects and in their own homes in Guernsey. One interviewee who

is now resident in Spain was interviewed whilst on holiday in Guernsey at her sister's home. Interviews, with only one exception, took place on a one to one basis.

Subjective opinion and participant consultation on the part of the interviewees, may have proved both therapeutic and insightful. The fact that an open-ended biographical interview was used provided a flexible, sensitive, valid and reliable approach, however the flexibility does lead to more difficulties for analysis. The fact that the interview is unstructured probably makes the study less replicable however, Bromley (1986) argued that the biographical interview is the bedrock of scientific research and that many psychological studies are difficult to replicate in principle but that it is the interesting, unpredictable case which traditionally spurred scientists towards changes in paradigm or theoretical innovation.

Interview scripts provided the raw data for the study these were analysed using as previously stated, the principles of the grounded theory approach originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) but further developed by Strauss and Corbin (1998). Following the data collection, verbatim transcripts were made of each interview, these were later summarised on the basis of key themes as described below. From these themes emerged one particularly dominant theme – relationships. All transcripts were re-analysed focusing on this theme. Further key themes within the field of relationships became apparent – parents, siblings, and more general – society.

Data Recording Equipment

A tape recorder was used during the interview with the prior permission of the participant. This accurately recorded all spoken data, which was later transcribed in

the first instance verbatim but later scripts were précised. Whilst accurate recording and analysis was possible the tape omitted important gestures and therefore important non- verbal communication, which naturally accompanies speech, was lost.

Confidentiality

To protect the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants and ensure compliance with established guidelines for research involving human subjects, (as per the British Psychological Society), I distributed and explained to each participant the informed consent form (see appendix D) and asked them, if they wished to, to sign it, several weeks after the interview had concluded, and return it to me in the stamped addressed envelope provided or to phone me if they wished me to collect it or if they wanted further information from me, having considered what had taken place during the interview. All the forms except one were returned signed. The interviewee who decided not to take part telephoned me to tell me that she had decided to write her own story for a book and her advocate had advised her not to sign the copyright form.

To ensure anonymity for the interviewees their transcripts were all initially numbered and later in order to personalise the accounts for the writing up of this thesis the numbers were substituted for names. The names used throughout this thesis are not the real names of the interviewees. Only I know who the names represent and obviously the individuals will, should they read this thesis, recognise their own stories.

Qualitative Methods & Grounded Theory

Qualitative methods in life history research focus on the processes by which the individuals discuss and sustain their realities. Qualitative methodologies provide the opportunity to explore ways in which different people make sense of their lives (Bogdan 1992). Such methodology also enables a broader response from participants, space to probe responses, the opportunity to seek clarification and enhance meanings.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest that one needs to:

step back and critically analyse situations, to recognise and avoid bias, to obtain valid and reliable data and to think abstractly (p18).

Qualitative approaches provide an opportunity to examine areas that are complex where meaning and interpretation of experiences may differ over time. This study used a qualitative methodology, namely grounded theory approach. Interview transcripts provided the raw data for the study, which were analysed using the principles of the grounded theory approach of Strauss and Corbin (1990).

Over the past thirty-five years the grounded theory approach has been developed and formulated. Grounded theory argues for the inductive discovery of theory grounded in systematically analysed data. Grounded theory is neither quantitative nor statistical in its procedures. A grounded theory approach begins by focusing on an area to be studied and proceeds to gather data from a variety of sources including interviews. The data are then analysed using coding, which is derived from the interview material when compared to each other, when this is done theories are generated, it is

then formally written up. The goal of grounded theory is to construct theories in order to understand social phenomena.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967) grounded theory is not discipline specific and may be used in a variety of disciplines although to date it has mostly been used in the field of sociology. As this research is an attempt to combine two disciplines, history and psychology it was felt that the principles of grounded theory would prove appropriate tools. Grounded theory is concerned with the detection and explanation of social phenomena and is problem oriented.

What differentiates grounded theory from other forms of research is that it is explicitly emergent, in other words it does not test a hypothesis but rather sets out to find out which theory accounts for the research situation. In other words grounded theory starts with a phenomenon, which the researcher believes is inadequately explained in theory and uses grounded theory to investigate new concepts and theories.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967) the distinction between emergence and forcing is crucial to the understanding of the methodology. The grounded theory approach is very different to other research in several ways; its methodology evolves, and the theory evolves from the data and how they are interpreted; the theory fits the situation rather than the situation fitting the theory. This was a further reason why this approach was considered appropriate for this research.

For this research tape recordings were used for analysis, notes were made following the interviews and coding was carried out adjacent to the interview notes. The tapes were initially transcribed verbatim, the reason for this was the large quantity of rich data that was collected over interviews lasting for several hours and the dual purpose behind the interviews, that is the interviews provided data for this research and also, with the participants permission, provided material for the States of Guernsey local history archives. Next, summaries were made according to the semi structured interview headings that formed the basis of the interviews, these semi-structured headings were not referred to during the interviews as the interviews were comprehensive and covered all the headings naturally. Finally the stories were written as findings as told by the sample. Examples of how this process was carried out may be found later in this chapter. A brief precise of each interviewee may be found in appendix A.

Literature

An important feature of grounded theory is the place of literature, because as the theory emerges, it is not possible to know at the beginning of the research which literature will be relevant. Literature is not given a position of privilege and data collected compared with it, rather literature is treated as data and has the same status as primary data. This means that data collection can begin as soon as the research situation has been defined.

Glaser (1978) recommends avoiding literature closely related to the research situation as it may constrain coding and memoing, which in turn gives birth to the theory. Instead he recommends reading as widely as possible. The difficulty with this approach is that it can be difficult to focus on any particular aspect for any length of

time and ‘mushrooming’ can result, in other words the focus spreads over a very wide area each focus spawning numerous other focuses until the material becomes uncontrollable.

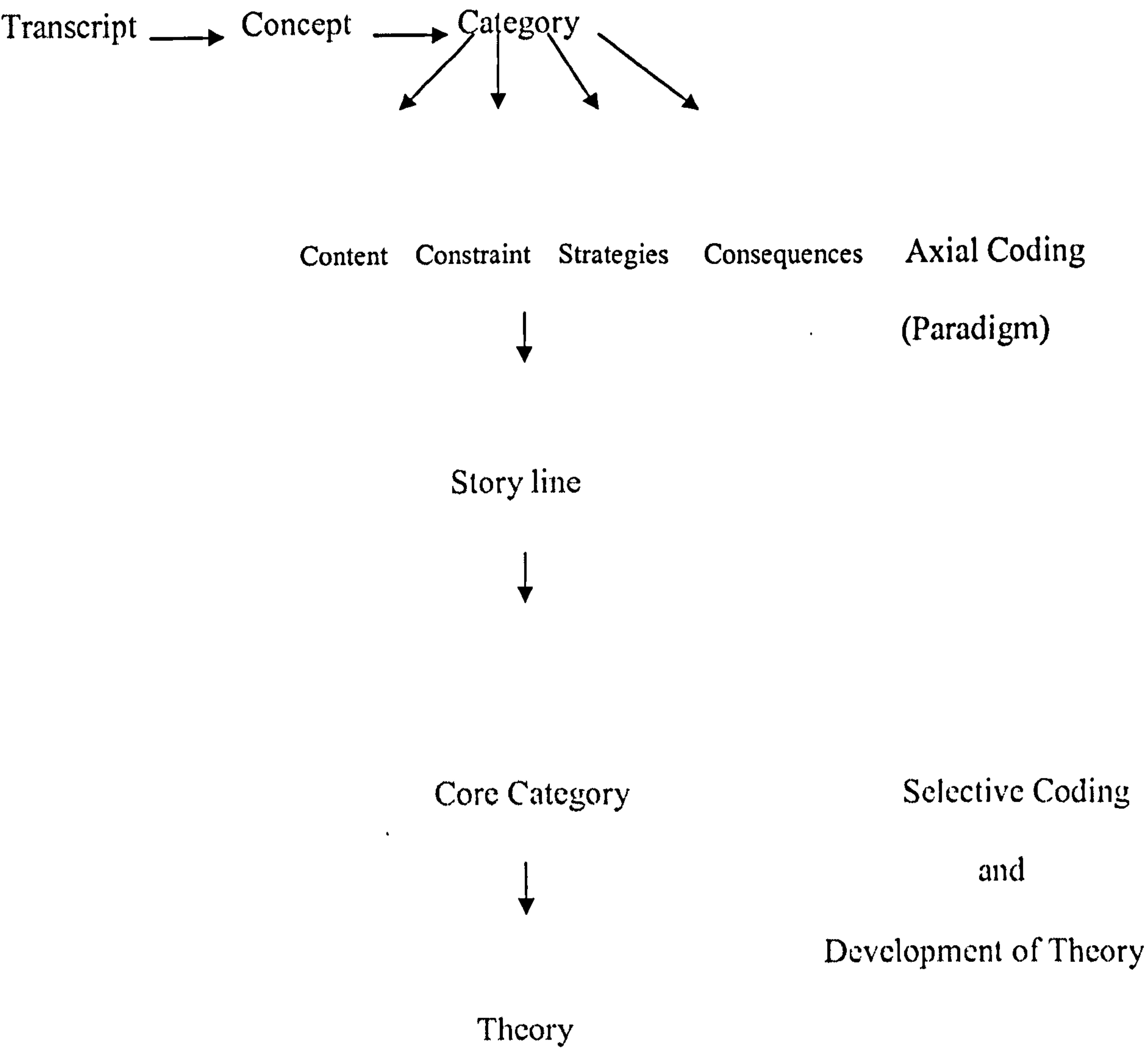
In this study the approach adopted was to read in response to data collected and to search for confirming and disconfirming evidence. Literature was accessed as it became relevant and the literature review was ongoing. This approach enabled me to locate the study within relevant fields of literature and refine the findings in the light of literature from different but related fields. Thus the literature review became an integral part of the data collection process and continued throughout the research and into the writing up of this thesis. Only the literature that was considered to be directly relevant can be found in the reference section and was cited in this thesis. However, the concept of relevance is subjective and it is possible that literature not considered relevant may in further research on this subject add new dimensions in the future.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe two types of literature, which may be used in the method. Technical literature enables the researcher to develop a sensitivity to the area being studied. It helps to develop questions for use in guiding additional data searches and it can be used to partially validate theory as it is developed. The second type of literature is non- technical literature which includes newspaper articles, letters, reports and other materials considered to be primary data to be analysed for theory development. In order to triangulate (offer a new confirming source alongside other sources used) Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest library sources may be used, (for example documented interviews/ journal articles) however there are advantages and disadvantages to using library sources for research. For this research one advantage was that it provided access to data from people who had died prior to the

research being carried out; library sources also provided a life line in that they helped overcome the difficulties of being on an island without easy access to a wide range of sources that a larger better resourced environment could offer. Literature is also a cost effective and effective time management way of augmenting data, provided it is used judiciously. The disadvantages include the possibility that, historical accounts outlined in the library sources, may have been filtered by previous authors and it is important to avoid literature theory saturation before the interviews have been concluded. The steps described below are based on Strauss and Corbin's procedures and techniques and were adopted for this research.

Fig 1 Simplified Chart Depicting Stages Used in Analysis of Data

Open Coding



Open Coding

Coding is the process of analysing the data.

Open coding refers to the process of naming and categorizing phenomena through line by line examination of the data to enable the development of concepts. These concepts may form categories, in other words when concepts are

compared against each other and have similar properties (characteristics) they become categories.

Below is an example using part of a transcribed interview of how the coding was carried out.

Transcript	Concept	Category
1 “ Always at school a boy would be crying or a girl, but I escaped for three years, I was quiet – I’d learnt by then, nobody wanted to know what you thought or felt”	rejection ignored fear misery	negative feelings relationships
2 “ When the evacuee boys came back they were so big the girls were fascinated by them....we hadn’t felt stunted until then, we didn’t get on with them very well, they accused us of being collaborators	inadequacy loss of status verbal aggression	low self esteem conflict relationships
3 “ My father had a difficult relationship with my half brother so he was sent to Jersey to boarding school”	rejection avoidance conflict	negative feelings coping strategy conflict relationships

Axial Coding

This process involves further specification of categories, properties and dimensions by making connections between a category and its components.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe this method for relating subcategories to their categories as the 'Paradigm Model'. Axial coding follows open coding, by making connections between the categories identified through open coding, axial coding and then puts the data back together again in a new way. In order to do this a coding paradigm is used; this means that it is important to acknowledge the context of a set of actions and the constraints that would be present on the actions. It is also important to take into account the strategies that were devised to manage or respond to a phenomenon under a specific set of conditions.

Consequences refer to the outcomes of the action. Axial coding is then about looking at the categories as defined by open coding, looking at the conditions that gave rise to it, how the action was managed and the consequences of all those interactions. An example of this can be seen in the coding paradigm table.

Fig 2 Coding Paradigm Table

Category	Context	Constraint	Strategies	Consequences
Negative feelings	Felt unheard at school & at home	The time, situation,	Withdrew from others	Emotional breakdown
Low self esteem	Comparison with evacuees		Rejection	Lack of understanding between two groups
Conflict	Between Evacuee & Occupied boys		Verbal abuse	Resentment
	Between father & son.	The family	Power	
Coping Strategies	Dealing with son who was a stranger.	The family	Send away	Avoided conflict feelings not dealt with

Selective Coding and the Development of Theory

This is a similar process to axial coding but takes place at a more abstract level involving the formation of a story line. Selective coding involves the selection of a core category, the central phenomenon around which all other categories were integrated. It is about integrating the categories to form the grounded theory and this is achieved looking for possible relationships between the main categories

Fig3

Story Line	Core category	Salient Phenomena
A variety of different relationships were effected as a result of the occupation and evacuation	Relationships	Feelings Coping

The story line becomes the grounded theory, in this case, relationships were effected as a result of the occupation and evacuation.

Memo Writing

This is an intermediate step between coding and the first draft of the completed analysis and involves the extension and elaboration of processes, assumptions and actions that are subsumed under developed codes. Throughout the research process, memo writing was a useful means by which I kept track of my thoughts as data collection and analysis progressed.

Having gone through the process of open coding, axial coding and selective coding *relationships* emerged as the main theme of the data. The data were then analysed again using the same process using *relationships* as the core category and four sub categories emerged: relationships between parent and child, relationships between siblings; relationships between those who were occupied and the Germans and relationships between those who were evacuated and those who were occupied.

Limitations of the Research

One of the strengths of the method used in this research is probably also a limitation – qualitative research affords a rich and complex plethora of data and it is doubtful that even the most rigorous analysis produces comprehensive findings.

Furthermore, the emphasis in this research is upon relations between a wide and diverse group of people, it would therefore have been preferable to interview all those involved within the relationships analysed rather than only one member from the family. Multiple interviews would have given voice to shared family perspectives and shared cultural perspectives. It is possible that participants have withheld information due to loyalty to family members and the fear that in a small island where anonymity is difficult, leaked information can be damaging. Conducting research in large urban areas may reassure participants of increased anonymity and help to alleviate complications of this nature (Fraenkel 1990; Raffe et al 1989). Possibly further follow up interviews would enable the researcher to overcome such issues by building up a relationship of trust and continuity that may encourage further discussion of sensitive topics (Reiman 2003).

Any interview involves human interaction and information collection is prone to the interpersonal variables which can affect the outcome. The relationship and interaction between the interviewer and interviewee will affect the quality and amount of information obtained in an interview, some of these factors may include, age, sex, class, personal qualities and the role adopted by the researcher (Reiman, 2003). Even inadvertent non verbal cues may be interpreted by the interviewee as a criticism or judgement and may affect information given. Demand characteristics (Orne 1962) may operate as the interviewee tries to behave or answer in accordance with the perceived research aims. It is probably true to say that the biographical approach necessitates a very close relationship between the interviewer and interviewee over an extended period of time whilst dealing with, in this research, intimate information, this in itself can interfere with the objectivity of the researcher or it can lead to valuable insights not available to shorter and more quantitative studies.

The passage of time may also have affected the outcomes of this research.

Participants have had more than fifty years to reflect upon and make sense of their experiences. They will, no doubt, have been influenced by changing cultural views and changes in political views and the stories they tell now maybe very different to those they may have told in the immediate years after the war or the story they will tell in the years that lie ahead. (See oral history and social memory sections in literature review and discussion)

Using a method which focuses on subjective and moveable concepts such as experience and memory was a cause for anxiety in this research. Memory is fallible and open to manipulation, those telling the narrative may be concerned about how

they are viewed by the researcher and by those who take an interest in the end product of the research. These factors may affect what is included in the narrative and the way it is told (Holbrook 1997).

In the organisation and management of the data, I had to make choices both conscious and unconscious about what was significant and relevant and whose voices would be heard, what would appear in the foreground, the background and what would be omitted. It was I who did the literature search, I did the theorising, proposed the research question and then wrote up the account. Due to this I would be naïve to think other voices apart from my sample were not heard and taken into account (Thompson 1988). Whilst all sources were drawn on when analysing the data it is possible that I have unintentionally chosen specific themes from the data, which particularly reflect my own interests. This may be part of the normal process of research but never the less it does influence the outcomes. It is impossible to put aside one's own perspective totally (Elliot, Fischer & Rennie 1999).

During the interview stage of this research I found myself wanting to be nice to my interviewees. They had invited me into their homes, they had chosen to tell me their life stories, in some cases, they were clearly trusting me with information that was sensitive or they had not told anyone before in over fifty years. They were helping me, doing me a favour, I wanted to ensure that they received something back from me in return and this took a variety of forms such as company for those who were lonely and a sympathetic ear for those who felt aggrieved that no one had listened to their stories before. The role I adopted throughout the interviews was that of polite and interested guest, I focused not on the content of the research but the individual, taking an interest in for example, grandchildren, hobbies and pets (Massarik 1981).

This was deliberate but also came very easily. I believe that it made for a relaxed interview, assisted the building of trust, and gave the interviewee control over what was revealed. The power differential was minimised (Cotterill 1992) and this was aided by the interviewee having the home territory advantage and of course expertise over the subject matter – their own experiences. I believe that an environment of equality, sharing and trust is essential for the expression of opinions, knowledge and judgement (Burgess 1980). At the commencement of each interview prior to the tape recorder being switched on I outlined my motivation for carrying out the research in terms that I felt the interviewee could relate to. I shared my goals with each interviewee in order to clarify the boundaries of responsibility, control and power (Bogdan 1992; Evans 1996).

I am concerned that my analysis of this very rich data and through my theorising and the necessarily reductive process the data has undergone that I have distanced the voices of the interviewees. There is little doubt that from the original detailed interviews to the final writing for examination there has been a paring down and by limiting my focus some voices and experiences have been pushed to the background. In the process, albeit necessary, of writing for a specific audience and within time and word limits, I am anxious that I may not have done justice to my interviewees valuable contributions.

Chapter 6

FINDINGS

Introduction

In this thesis I am exploring the impact of the evacuation and occupation experience on the lives and relationships of Guernsey children and Guernsey society.

Following analysis of the data, relationships emerged as the main theme and after further analysis the main theme divided into four types of relationship; the relationship between the parent and child; the relationship between siblings; the relationship between those who were occupied and those who were evacuated; and the relationship between the occupied and the Germans. The findings which will be set out in this and the following three chapters will focus on these four relationships.

The following research questions evolved from the analysis of the interview data using the principles of Grounded Theory:

1 What effect, if any, could trauma have had on the individual's relationship with parents, siblings and others.

2 Competent and resourceful carers can help to provide a buffer against trauma in young children, was this evident in this research?

3 Was there evidence of difficulties in family relationships and dynamics following separation?

4 Why was there conflict between those who were evacuated and those who were occupied after the Liberation?

5 Why did relationships form between Germans and those occupied?

From the analysis it became clear that an alternative story to the official dominant story that had existed for over fifty years was beginning to emerge and from this a sixth research question was borne:

6 Is collective memory regarding the occupation evacuation period permanently defined and fixed or are social and economic changes the catalysts for a new interpretation of public memory?

This chapter focuses on the effect that separation due to the evacuation and occupation had on the relationships of parents and children, it will attempt to answer the research questions regarding the effect of trauma (definition: - ‘when the child has experienced an event that is outside the range of usual human experience and that would be markedly distressing to almost anyone’. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual. American Psychiatric Association* 1994) on the individual’s relationship with parents, siblings and others; whether or not there was evidence of competent and resourceful carers providing a buffer against trauma in young children; and whether there was evidence of difficulties in family relationships and dynamics following the separation. (Research questions 1, 2 and 3.)

Chapter 7 will focus on the effects of the evacuation and occupation on sibling relationships and will examine the possible existence of competent and resourceful carers and the effects the trauma had on the sibling relationship in terms of difficulties in family relationships and dynamics after the separation. (Research questions 1,2 and 3)

Chapter 8 will outline the findings in relation to those who were evacuated and those who were occupied and explain the reasons for the conflict which existed between these two groups (Research question 4).

Chapter 9 will outline findings relating to relationships which existed between the occupied and the Germans (Research question 5).

The Effects of Separation on the Relationships between Parents and Children.

Of those interviewed for this study some lived with foster parents, three were placed in institutional care (children's home). Others remained the responsibility of the schools that they evacuated with.

During the Evacuation of Guernsey in June 1940 many children travelled with their teachers and the school, one or two with their older siblings and their school. Some children who did not evacuate with the school evacuated with one or both parents. Those who did not evacuate remained on the Island with one or both of their parents. There were cases where children were evacuated whilst their siblings remained with their parents. Age was not necessarily the criterion for deciding who stayed and who went although generally speaking, younger children remained with their parents wherever the parents chose to reside. Exact figures regarding how many children remained and how many went are not available as records have been lost or destroyed but approximately four thousand children left the island and approximately fifteen hundred children remained (Cruickshank 1991). Clearly the story is not a simple one and the complexities of the array of different arrangements makes generalisations difficult as each child's situation was unique.

Relationships with parents prior to the evacuation / occupation

Analysis of the data of all those who were interviewed (forty subjects) shows that those who had bad relationships with parents prior to 1940 continued to have similar relationships post 1945, five interviewees out of a total of forty interviewees fell into this category. All five had been cared for by someone other than their parents prior to 1940, all were evacuated, four out of five were looked after by someone other than parents during the period 1940 to 1945, all described their parents as unsupportive and none of the five reported experiencing or being treated for depression.

Six children reported a change in the relationship they had with their parents post 1945. In all cases the change was negative, the relationship had gone from good to bad. All six reported they had, prior to 1940, been cared for by their parents. Four of the six were looked after by someone other than their parents during 1940 to 1945 the remaining two were looked after by their mothers but separated from their fathers and it was with the father that they had a bad relationship following 1945. In other words in all six cases the relationship went from good to bad with the parent or parents from whom they were separated. Five of the six were evacuated and this resulted in a long (years rather than weeks or months) separation period. Interestingly all six described parents as supportive. Two claimed to have been treated for depression in later life one of these had previously (in the 1960s and later 1970s) reported the 1940 to 1945 period as traumatic to her doctor and psychiatrist and believed the evacuation and separation from her parents was responsible for her illness:

No one wanted to listen, no one wanted to know, they just said
the war was over and I had to put it all behind me. (Hilda)

With regards to birth order, four were middle born, one the eldest and one the youngest. Five out of the six had remained with at least one sibling but had been separated from others. Three evacuated whilst siblings remained with parents. Five out of six were from small families (fewer than six children). All six were females. These findings may suggest that gender may be an important variable in separation from parent outcomes but clearly this sample is too small to make this claim.

How the separation was managed

The lead up to the evacuation was very hurried and parents were given very little time to consider their options. In some cases having elderly grandparents, owning a business or carrying out an essential job meant that parents evacuating was not feasible and the separation of a child or children from at least one parent was unavoidable. The extended family and parents did discuss whether or not the children or as in some cases, the family, should evacuate as one interviewee recalls:

One evening there was a family conference, my aunt and uncle and a couple of others, for a family conference at my home. To my delight I was sent out to the garden to play with my two sisters and my cousin. My brother was out with his friends. I was so happy because the big girls, as I called them, were playing in the garden with me and I was allowed to stay up late. We danced round the garden singing “are we going to be evacuated, are we going to be evacuated?” I didn’t know what the word meant, it was a word the others were talking about so I just copied them. (Hilda)

I can remember all the discussion, because by then most of my sisters were married and brothers were married and coming to our house saying 'what are you going to do, are you going dad?' 'Are you going', 'are we going?', finally me saying I didn't want to go with the school and my father saying, 'well, you are not going with the school, if we go we will try to go as a family, as near as possible'.

(Connie)

We were going to go but when my mum got to the (garden) gate she told my dad that she didn't want to go so he said 'Ok, lets go home and have a cup of tea'. (Nora)

The luckier ones had families in the U.K. they could turn to for lodgings in the short term:

My father was a tomato grower and it was the height of the season, he couldn't leave the vinery so my mother decided she'd take us to relatives who lived in Surbiton. (Kay)

My mother and sister went to England after me, I'd gone with the school. My Mum went to my paternal grandmother in Lancashire, and I'd been taken to Eccles so she came and got me and we lived in Hindley for five years. (Ruth)

My mother and father were warned to leave the Island if they were not Island, born due to the possibilities of being transferred to

concentration camps. My parents went to London, where my father had been born. At that time I had a brother in law who was a soldier serving in Ludlow in Shropshire, my mother, brother and I joined him. (Freda)

All my brothers and sisters went but on different boats and in different groups. We all had the address of a cousin in Cornwall, so it didn't matter where we went because it was possible to get in touch with this cousin and all meet up again. (Connie)

The schools, on the other hand, did not know where their journey would end. One respondent recalls:

We didn't know where we were going. Apparently I had been on a train before, we had been to England, but I was pretty ignorant and I heard we slept in the sidings that night, I thought that was a place! We never knew where we were going until we got there. (Betty)

The journey wasn't very smooth at all. We arrived at a port, we weren't sure where we were, I think to this day it must have been Weymouth. (Freda)

Most children who evacuated, especially those who went without parents, spent the five- year evacuation period in the north of England or Scotland. The evacuation itself tended to take place in the middle of the night, this was very disorientating for the children:

I went to bed that night fine, the next morning my mother woke me up. I thought it was the middle of the night, it turned out it was 5am. She woke me up, dressed me in my winter coat, which I couldn't understand because it was June, it was June 20th, two weeks after my eighth birthday. She put my winter coat on and my gas mask over my shoulder and gave me a paper carrier bag. In the carrier bag I found there was two pairs of pants and a packet of dried fruit. She took me across the road to the school and put me on a bus and I didn't know why. I was completely confused. She didn't say anything, she just put me on the bus. The bus took us to the White Rock and we sat on the stones for three hours. Then you were put on the boat and all the stewardesses could do was try and mop up where the children had been sick. I was sea sick all day and I cried all day because I didn't know why I was on the boat and what I was doing there. (Hilda)

This particular day when we walked through Town on our way home we heard newspaper people talking about the evacuation. When we got home our Mum told us we had to go away that night in the middle of the night. So we were all bathed and dressed and we weren't allowed to take suitcases, so we had carrier bags and labels attached to us, we had oranges and a change of clothes. We were woken in the night, I remember being tired. I had mixed feelings about where we were going but I didn't discuss my feelings with anyone. (Alice)

Boats were poorly prepared for transporting human cargo and many of the interviewees told of the distressing circumstances in which they were transferred to the mainland:

The journey was terrible, it was a big old cattle boat. We were put down below. There was straw where the cattle had been. The crew came round with baskets of sticky buns and strong tea

(Catherine)

The boat that took us was a cargo boat that had just delivered cattle to the U.K. to maintain the pedigree, so they didn't have time to clean the ship and they tried to put us all in the hold so we were off deck. It was a very hot June day and the smell was terrible and with all the children crammed in children were passing out so they got us all back on deck. (Alice)

Boats rarely arrived when it was thought they would, hence hours of queuing at the harbour and the opportunity for some families and parents to rethink their hastily made plans, resulting in a number of families changing their initial decisions and deciding to remain on the Island:

We didn't evacuate because my sister waited at St Sampson's School but the buses didn't come and they were sent home again. My father said 'that's it, we don't go'. If my sister had gone my mother would have followed with me. We were all going to go but tradesmen were asked to go last, so my father had to wait behind. Anyway, in the end

we all stayed, 'what we do, we do as a family!' said father, my father was a man of strong decision. (Harry)

The trauma of separation affects not only the child but also the parents and other relatives left behind. Obviously, today there are few parents surviving who can tell their stories but from the case studies presented in this research it can be seen how the children perceived the separation affected their parents and how, whilst at the time they were unable to relate to their parent's feelings, many years later, after their own parenting experiences and following much reflection, they now attempt to interpret those experiences on behalf of their parents.

Cyril who was evacuated with his brother recalls:

It's strange, that's the strange part you see, because all this thing blew up, as children we didn't know, we weren't particularly bothered. Then it all seemed to happen very quickly. I can remember one specific Sunday tea time and we were due to go on the boat the next day with the school and I was eating peaches and custard, funny how you remember a stupid thing like that, peaches and custard and Vera Lyn was singing 'We'll meet again' on the radio and my mother said to me 'listen to this song', and I was listening to the song, it was nothing really to do with the events, it was pushed upon me and I started to cry, I could feel the tears running into my custard and I could taste them in my custard. You know it was the strangest thing because I really had nothing to cry for and I thought, what is going on?

Experiences during the war

In the cases where children were evacuated with the schools it was many months before parents were able to get in contact with their children again and keeping in touch was limited to Red Cross letters consisting of no more than twenty five words, this cut the child off from his or her roots and meant that, in some cases, the child was at the mercy of foster parents. A minority, of children in the meantime, were under the impression that their parents had been killed. One child, Hilda, believed her parents had been shot by Germans, then discovered they were alive and later was told that her parents did not want her back again, the latter was not true:

When I was there (in Glasgow in a hall waiting for foster parents) the worst thing happened, one of the worst things of the war. The big girl, as I called her, called several of us round her one morning and said 'Hey, little ones, the Germans have shot your parents' I believed her . I ate my breakfast and then went and brought it all back up again. The teacher told us to sit down and copy a letter off the board to our parents. Apparently that post got through but I didn't write, I told the teacher I'd already written. There was no way I could have written you see, my parents were dead weren't they?, they'd been shot, so I didn't write. Because of that it was fifteen months before my mother found out anything about me.

Foster parents and others offered permanent homes to three children via adoption but out of those who form part of this research only two sisters of one interviewee were adopted and this resulted in a fifty- year separation from their brother, Harry.

Harry, who had prior to the evacuation been in a children's home in Guernsey along with his siblings was evacuated with his mother and siblings but on arrival in England, he and his sisters were taken back into care. His brother was evacuated with an aunt and he remained with her throughout the war and afterwards. Harry's two sisters were both adopted from the home and were brought up by their new families in Australia and America. The sister who had grown up in Australia had later moved back to the U.K. to live with her family:

Someone came along one day and decided they wanted to adopt a little girl so they adopted my older sister and then one of their friends saw her and said 'has she got a sister?' and they said 'yes, she's got a sister' and they went back and adopted my other sister and there was just me left.

About three years ago in January I had a phone call one evening to say that my sisters had been over to Guernsey for one day. They had been to Jersey on holiday and came to Guernsey to make some enquiries. They went to the Greffe (Registrar) and someone there happened to know the family they were looking for and said 'I can put you in touch with the nephew' who informed me that they'd given him their names and addresses. So, I immediately.... I had a sister in California, and I had her address and phone number and the sister in England, I just had her address, I phoned America and spoke to my sister. (Harry)

Hilda was offered a home by a Scottish family after initially being taken out for day trips by them:

They took me to their home that evening and they took me out several

times after that. They were very kind, they made me a dress and bought me sandals because I only had what I stood up in. They took me into their home and they loved me. They had an older girl who was very kind to me. I found out a long time after, that they wanted to adopt me, which would have suited me. I didn't know what adopt meant but one little girl, there were sisters who had been split up and this little girl had two sisters in the hall (reception hall where children waited for foster parents) and she was told she had been adopted, we didn't know what it meant but she came back with a lovely new coat and hat and a dolly and we thought, 'well if that means adoption that's fine by us we'll have the same thing', we didn't know what it meant.

There were examples in this research in both institutions and in foster care of some evacuated children being exploited both physically and sexually. These children were vulnerable at a time when children should be 'seen and not heard'. At least two were subjected to sexual abuse, others intimated that they had been abused but felt unable to be specific about their experiences, whilst others were clear about the treatment they had received.

Some were treated as unpaid servants:

I had been with a foster family and had a foster brother, the husband died tragically and they couldn't afford to keep me. They had looked after me very well and clothed me well. I moved to a dancing teacher's house and I was very unhappy. I was used as a housemaid. I was only fifteen. I had morning uniform and afternoon uniform, I wasn't trained.

I was eventually put in charge of looking after the elderly aunt, washing her and caring for her until a relative who was a matron at a hospital down South arrived. She asked me what I did. She had a row with the other relatives and told me I mustn't look after her aunt anymore. I told a friend I was unhappy and wanted to run away and she told me of a couple who wanted someone to help them and be a companion for the wife who had just had a baby. (Alice)

Others were sexually abused. One of these was Freda whose family had evacuated to England. Two of her brothers were in the forces, one later died. A third brother lived with her father who had returned to his native London. Her mother lived in a different part of England, but was unable to provide a home for her and felt she would be better off in an area less likely to be bombed:

I was privileged in that I travelled to the Rhondda Valley in Wales. The people were good to me and I was given the best home that they thought I could have being the only Channel Islander. I was spoilt and looked after very tenderly there during which time there were problems.... they had one daughter and she lived down the road with an aunt because her parents had two male lodgers and they also had a cousin and her daughter come and stay. We slept five in a bed. I was happy to a certain extent but the stepfather was getting a bit of a nuisance to me. I wrote and told my mother and she got me to move immediately. He kept fondling me. I asked if I could move to another village with some other children but the governess said I had the best of homes, that they'd selected it especially for me. So I wrote to my mother and she got me out. (Freda)

Martin, was sexually abused on a number of occasions at different children's homes:

I had only been there two days and I was sexually abused by the person who owned the home. It was a devastating experience. I became uncontrollable, which is understandable really because it wasn't just a simple sexual abuse, it was gross sexual abuse, if you can understand me. I enjoyed going to school but as I say this happened there and Mrs W (school teacher), I can always remember, wanted to find out why, she had good reason because I started out a nice lad. I think it must have played on my mind. I can't remember a lot of it but I can remember the hurt and I ran away from the home two or three times but I was brought back.... I used to cry a lot at night, you know, it didn't happen once it happened numerous times. It was when the other children went out and then I was told I had to stay behind, then you knew what was going to happen.

Having told his teacher what had happened the police were brought in to deal with the situation but rather than receiving support and sympathy Martin was accused of being a trouble maker from another country:

The policeman came down to see me in his uniform and he told me I was telling a load of lies and that I was looking for sympathy because I didn't like the place and he said 'these people do not do that kind of thing you're from another country, from Guernsey, and you are trying to cause problems here', that was my experience of people on the mainland.

Martin was eventually moved to another children's home where he stated he was sexually abused in a garden shed, he ran away again and was moved to yet another children's home where he lived happily for the rest of the war.

Even after fifty plus years some of the interviewees found it difficult to use the words sexual abuse, Joan who was also sexually abused explained what had happened to her:

Prior to going to Derbyshire we went with a Welsh friend to Wales, to stay with her. There were two school- teachers (a brother and sister) and their mother in this great big house. I've realised since I didn't like it there. I didn't like the man, he pushed his attentions on me although I didn't realise it at the time, I just knew I was frightened and uncomfortable.

Other interviewees experienced a different type of abuse. They were emotionally abused. One interviewee, Ivor, described how he was told, rather callously, by his foster mother, whilst he was helping with the washing on wash day, that his mother, who had remained in Guernsey, had died:

She said, 'your mothers dead, its probably best, now turn the mangle', no one mentioned my mother or her death again.

Ivor went on to explain that he eventually had to move billet and described the treatment he received from his new foster parents:

My second billet had no children. He (foster parent) and his brothers ran a large grocers shop. She (foster mother) could be nice but she could be a bitch. She threw me out into the snow one day.

Linda's recollections of life with foster parents were no less distressing:

I went to this woman who was awful. I was overweight so she used to make me get up in the morning and skip before I could have any breakfast. She gave me loads of jobs to do because she said I was too fat. I wasn't even allowed to bath in her bath, she'd give me 6d to go to the council baths. I suffered with bronchitis and one day I was in bed ill. She told me to put coal on the fire to keep it alight whilst she was out but I fell asleep. When she came back she threw the contents of the grate at me. She made me get up and go to school and when I came back she'd packed my bag and left it on the doorstep- I was eleven years old. I didn't know what to do and had no money. Then I remembered the billeting officer at the Town Hall. I walked there but by the time I got there they were closed. A woman took me home for the night and I found a new billet with an old lady of seventy the next day. She was a nice old lady.

Some had to take on the role of fulltime carers and whilst this might not be viewed as abuse it did rob the children of their childhood and gave them responsibilities they were ill equipped to cope with:

I was ten, my sister was fifteen, bless her, she used to wash and iron the

clothes, she cooked the meals and helped aunty. By the time I was ten I was taking her (disabled aunty) to the toilet and seeing to her needs because she couldn't do it herself anymore, so I was doing that by the time I was ten and I didn't like it either. (Hilda)

It is not possible to pinpoint family separations as the sole cause of some of the emotional issues by which some of the Guernsey children have been troubled since the evacuation, as clearly abuse experiences have played their part in at least two cases prior to the separation,

Martin who told of how he was abused in two children's homes in the U.K., explained how he had been violently abused by his stepfather before leaving home. This abuse continued after the war when he was returned to Guernsey. Martin's parents attempted to gain him entry into the Army when he was fourteen but he failed his written examination and was declined a place. They took him to a doctor whom his stepfather knew and he had him transferred to an asylum in the south west of England, where he remained for several years before he was finally assessed by a psychologist who told him there was nothing wrong with him and that he should not be there. Within twenty four hours he was no longer institutionalised. He got himself a job and board and lodgings, later he joined the army and eventually became a nurse and married. He eventually divorced due to his wife's adultery on numerous occasions and the fact that she had two children whom Martin had not fathered:

My mother married to my stepfather and he wasn't a very nice person. I can remember mental cruelty and physical cruelty from around the age of three and a half years until I left for England. I

was kicked, I stuttered so I was told to stand on a chair, I was whipped by a birch, my hands used to be tied behind my back he (stepfather) burnt my hands, if you look at my finger tips they are all scarred where he pushed them into the fire. He burnt my leg with a poker, I was then about six years. I used to be given sandwiches to go to school with. Now I love marmite but then I didn't and I used to stick them into a tree, into the hollow of the tree. Miss G (teacher) wanted to know why I wasn't eating and other children were giving me their food so she told my parents. He (step father) found out where I was hiding my sandwiches and he took them from the tree and they were green and mouldy. I was made to eat them. When he burnt me I was in my bedroom for three months. He treated my burns and I was not allowed to go to the doctor.

Other variables may also have been at work. One of these variables may be institutionalisation or multiple fostering which may make people much more likely to suffer emotional distress than others who had the emotional and psychological support of a continuous relationship with a single carer (Freud, Solnit, & Goldstein, 1973). The vulnerable children have no one to turn to for protection or comfort. They are rarely believed if they disclose the abuse. For example, by the time Martin was ten years of age he had been placed in four children's homes, one foster home and lived with his mother and stepfather. Linda had lived with her parents and three different foster homes by the time she was eleven. Joan had three foster homes and her parents home. Ivor had two foster homes and his parents home, one of whom died when he was nine the other when he was fourteen. This would imply that these

interviewees would be more susceptible to emotional distress, it is therefore interesting that only one of these interviewees is amongst the fourteen interviewees in this research who have been diagnosed and treated for depression. This supports the findings of Foster (2000).

The vast majority of the children in this research were happy and secure in their foster homes, institutions or homes where they remained with their own families. Three interviewees became closely attached to institution staff and others found supportive foster families, several not wishing to return to their natural homes. Linda and her sister were placed on a farm with a family and after an initially hostile reception from the farmer's wife, who was immediately chastised by her husband for being uncharitable towards the children, became very much part of the family whom she grew to love:

She (foster mother) was lovely, I had bronchitis and she nursed me through that, she was really, really lovely. We liked it on the farm. Her husband died of cancer while we were there and they put his body on a hay- cart which was drawn by his favourite horse up to the church. We were very fond of him, I used to sit on his knee. Mrs M had curly hair and she used to let me brush it. They were really good to us.

On returning home to Guernsey after the war Linda found it hard to settle back to life with her biological family:

I wrote to Mrs M (foster mother) saying 'I don't like it here can I come back?'.

As stated in the literature review of this thesis, the effects of being reared within an institution are usually portrayed negatively and these effects, it is claimed have been found to persist into adolescence and adulthood. However the experiences of those who were in institutions in this research do not support these findings. One, Harry, saw the time he spent in an institution as good preparation for the rest of his life and claimed it 'compared favourably' with the time he spent living with his mother of whom he spoke highly:

The discipline was very strict. We all had jobs to do when you finished school, it might be cleaning boots one week, the next peeling potatoes, the next washing dishes, scrubbing floors, scrubbing tables, all the tables had to be scrubbed and they had to be white, there were no half measures. Everything had to be immaculate. Once your jobs were done.... the food was excellent. You didn't go hungry. Your clothes – you had play clothes school clothes and Sunday clothes, you were well dressed. I think it was that you didn't have the freedom, it was strict. I think that was a good thing. I realised that when I joined the army and I saw these boys who had joined from their homes. I had come from a children's home and I settled down quite nicely and to me it was just like another home, I had been trained for it.

In fact this interviewee went as far as to describe the people who ran the home as 'like parents' and invited them to his wedding, despite the fact that by this time he had returned to live with his mother at least seven years before. The husband of the couple was invited to give a speech and they sat on the top table at the

wedding reception.

A female interviewee who also had contact with her parents before and after the war but lived in an institution before during and after the war described her life thus:

In the U.K. we were treated well, the Co-op used to give us things and there were parties. I was eventually billeted with a family when I was ten, I didn't like it there, they adopted a boy, I got on with him. They had a daughter aged thirteen years. They wanted to adopt me but I didn't want that. They sent me to Cheshire (to a different family because she had warts on her hands and they didn't want their daughter to catch them). They shouldn't have done that, they should have sent me back to the home. My sister found out and she told the home and they came and got me. I had happy times in the home, they coped with one hundred and twenty children at one time. (Wanda)

For Martin, apart from a brief period of three months, when he was fostered by a couple who had no children and had always wanted a son, the time he spent in one of the three children's homes he was sent to proved to be the happiest time of his life:

I was taken to Nantwich Cheshire, to a children's home, a large children's home. They had lots of girls and lots of boys and so forth and it was run by nuns in plain clothes. They were lovely people, they really were and I enjoyed myself there. I had a normal kind of upbringing. Our jobs were like scrubbing the floor and if you were naughty I was told "right, you go and wash

that pan". It was a pan if you know what I mean, like normal kinds of children's chores, which lets face it, we're all naughty as kids because we get up to mischief and everything else but they (nuns) used to come out and have a game of rounders, come out and play football, they were marvellous people. I was looked after nicely for the rest of the war at this children's home.

Despite a nurturing attitude in some institutions the feeling of being different did cause one of the three interviewees, Harry, some concerns:

The only trouble is when you've been in a children's home or you are in a children's home you are always that bit introvert you know, you feel as though you are not as good as everybody else. You feel there is something wrong with you.

This notion may have been perpetuated by a lack of opportunity to express one's individuality, Harry went on to explain:

When we went out as children, to the park or something, we had to march in twos and when Summer came round you all wore the same thing, you know, we had our summer clothes; a shirt, pullover or tank top as they call them now, grey flannel trousers, the boys didn't wear long trousers, you had to wear short trousers and you had to march in twos up to Sunday School to go to church. If you were at school and you had a bit of an argument people would tell you, you were part of a home.

It would appear from this research that if a child's feelings are not responded to by carers, whether in an institution or not, the child will not appreciate the importance of these feelings. The result is feelings will be suppressed and the child will probably lose the desire to feel and communicate feelings and expressions to other people. The inability to express himself and his coping mechanism for dealing with this was acknowledged by Harry:

I'm not a good communicator, I leave it to my wife

Ivor attempted to explain why he appeared to lack feelings which he considered to be natural for other people:

I don't feel the same as others, I have experienced so many deaths, you just become numb to them.

During the data analysis, it became apparent that some children reported an irretrievable breakdown in relationship with their parents, whilst others reported either good relationships or the rebuilding of relationships with parents following the evacuation and occupation. This implies that parent child separation alone was not necessarily the cause of a breakdown in child /parent relationships.

In an attempt to understand why some child/ parent relationships were damaged whilst others were not the data were examined in detail and comparisons were made. In order to do this the following headings which derived from the analysis were used: Living circumstances prior to during and after the war; child's perceived

supportiveness of parents; relationship with parents after the separation; length of separation and relationship with father; size of family; how the return was handled.

Due to living circumstances prior to during and after the war

One possible explanation which may go some way towards providing an answer to the research questions may relate to changes in living circumstance of the child before, during and after the war. Yvonne explained how a better or maybe more materialistic life in the U.K. during the war affected her cousin's desire to return home.

My cousin came back and she couldn't settle because her mother's house had an outside toilet and no bathroom but she'd been fostered with posh people and she left and went to live with an aunt in Canada.

Linda also found it difficult to return home, referring to her mother and her home life before the evacuation she said:

She had too many children (twelve) and there were only three bedrooms in the house. She had no idea how to cope with all these children. They all got married young except me. There always seemed to be too many people round the table and my Mum never seemed to call us by our right names. The boys were spoilt. Dad was always tired, he was a carpenter. The twins were special and used to be dressed alike, Mum made their clothes. She didn't really have time for the others.

It is of course possible that the material circumstances were used as an excuse for

a more underlying problem relating to difficulties in the parent/child relationship, perhaps jealousies and resentments over lost opportunities or time spent with others.

Linda went on to explain:

I used to be close to Dad before we went away. Dad was better educated than Mum. If Dad tried to talk to me she'd find a reason to stop us, she resented it. Dad told us about the occupation, Mum wanted to forget it.

Other children reported leaving comfortable middle class homes, evacuating to less than they had been used to and coming back to a comfortable lifestyle but this did not assist the child in adjusting to being home. This suggests that material possessions alone did not compensate for disrupted relationships. Joan described life prior to the evacuation when material possessions and a comfortable lifestyle were important:

Mum was very fussy – we were very lucky, we always had Sunday clothes and shoes and wore straw hats to Sunday School. We had white knickers for summer, dark in winter, we had nice clothes. Everything was spotless, Mum was house proud. We went out for tea on Sundays to mummy's friends and had ham salad, trifle and cream and then cake after a huge lunch. An uncle had a car – Chevrolet, the top came down and we went to the beach in it. My father had high standards and we didn't want to disappoint him.

However Joan, went on to describe life during the evacuation when there was a distinct change in terms of material possessions, nevertheless Joan remained happy. After the evacuation she returned to the old comfortable lifestyle but was now unhappy:

There were five children in the house in Somerset, and you never knew who you would share your bed with. It was like a party every day, although we had no money. It was first up best dressed! When a parcel came from Canada, whoever it fitted had it. When we came home we didn't like it, all the shops were boarded up and we'd been used to a big family. Mum bought me pretty underwear which she thought a girl of seventeen would like but we hadn't been used to dressing up and pretty things.

For at least one child, Ursula, the evacuation meant a complete loss of all close relationships with parents and siblings and an inability to form new relationships with foster parents despite their kindness. This particular child had experienced a loving and privileged childhood prior to the occupation. She had come from a financially secure family and had been the recipient of the "finest things in life". Her place in the family was secure. It was her decision to evacuate with her school, she acknowledges this and the consequences of it:

I'd had a protected life over here. After two weeks (in the U.K.) a lady collected me in her car. She took me to a family who were my foster parents for the next five years. I always feel sad when children are taken away from foster mothers and given back to mothers that they've never seen. They (foster parents) had two children who

sniggered at me. The daughter didn't like me and didn't want me sharing her bed. She used to say 'I wish they'd take you away'. It was a totally different way of life. They were kind to me but I never felt really comfortable with them, I never called them Mum and Dad. I never felt I was part of their family.

Children are resilient, they have to be otherwise you'd die of a broken heart. I'd had a lovely childhood before the war. When I got home things weren't wonderful because my mum didn't understand me anymore. My sister was jealous of me because I was made a fuss of. I was like a fish out of water.

From the above it would appear that material possessions have less of an influence on children than the relationships they have with their care givers and whilst it was suggested that in some circumstances the loss of material possessions was significant this may have been an excuse for more underlying relationship issues.

Due to perceived supportiveness of parents.

A second possible explanation regarding the retrieval or breakdown of parent -child relationships is how supportive the child perceived his or her parents to be. Most of the children reported that one or both of their parents were supportive. Seven children claimed neither of their parents were supportive, in each case the child had been cared for by someone other than their parents prior to 1940 and were cared for by someone other than parents between 1940 and 1945. All had distant or poor relationships with their parents prior to 1940 and this continued after 1945. All experienced long periods of separation from their parents.

Hilda is an example of a child who believed she had loving parents, she was the youngest in the family and babied, she could not understand how her parents, especially her mother, could send her away, she felt unheard and uncared for and it took her years to forgive her mother for sending her away:

I went to school in Devon, a village school. There was one teacher with about thirty children aged 8 to 11 yrs old.

Always at school a boy would be crying or a girl because they'd been hit by the teacher but I escaped for three years.

I was quiet – I'd learnt by then – nobody wanted to know what you thought or felt

Relationship with parents after the separation

Six interviewees reported having good relationships with their parents prior to 1940 and bad relationships with them after 1945. Four out of the six were looked after by someone other than parents during this period. The two who were looked after by their mothers had difficult relationships with their fathers, whom they were separated from, after the war. In other words in all six cases relationships were difficult with parents they had been separated from. However these relationships were not irretrievable and four out of the six rebuilt their previously good relationships with their parents over a period of years. Two were unable to regain their relationships:

I didn't remember my father at all before the war. When we came back he was pleased to see us but he didn't recognise me and couldn't understand what I was saying because I had a strong Glaswegian accent

(Ingrid)

and another:

I don't know how my mother could leave a child of five to go away.

My sister was bitter about it. My mother was loyal to my father, she loved him so much and he loved her from the time he was fourteen so she had to stay with him. I can't see my daughter or daughter in law letting their children go. (Joan)

I never felt quite the same about my mother ever again and that broke my heart. I couldn't get that closeness again. I can't tell people how I felt, I wasn't angry they'd let me go, I just didn't fit in. I'd grown apart from them. My brothers and sisters are more like friends rather than family and I could quite happily have lived with or without my mother and family. (Ursula)

Although Ursula claims she could have lived happily this term should not be taken literally as during her interview she revealed that she has been unhappily married for many years and does not have a good relationship with her only child.

Vera had evacuated with her mother whom she had remained with throughout the war apart from a few weeks. Her father had already left the Island before the evacuation to join the forces, she explained how separation from her father affected her life:

Dad reappeared six months after the war. He had been a prisoner in Japan. He came home one night when we were in bed. I remember

him being brought into the room by Mum and being told ‘this is your little girl’. Dad was strange because he’d gone through so much torture and his eyes were sunken. He had marks on his back that stayed with him till the day he died. He never spoke of what had happened. Mum was the lead in our family because she was always there. When he came back Mum stepped back and Dad took over. Dad would shout at us. We weren’t used to having a man in the house.

Vera’s relationship with her mother remained very close until the day her mother died aged eighty six years.

For Alice, the situation of returning home and rebuilding relationships was made more difficult because by the time the war ended her mother had moved on in her own life and created a new life for herself that did not include her children. She got used to life without them:

There was no home for us to come back to. Things were bad between my mother and stepfather. My mother had left and moved in with a gentleman friend. My mother didn’t want anything to do with us.

Length of separation and relationship with father

In some cases the sole reason for the separation of parents and children was due to the obligation a father felt to his parents and so whilst children or mother and children evacuated the father remained on the island to look after his parents. Whether or not this would have been the case had families realised how long the separation was to be for cannot, of course, be answered. Separation from the

father, for whatever reason (he remained on the Island or joined the forces) did in some cases lead to a devaluing (in most cases temporarily) of the paternal role. Sybil describes the difficulty her father had in re-establishing his authority in the family home, this authority went unquestioned prior to the evacuation and his separation from his wife and children:

I don't remember going to church during the war years at all but when we came back we went to St Martin's Mission. We (Mum & I) did as Dad said we would. It was harder for the boys (brothers) who had come back as men. Sundays you weren't allowed to talk at Sunday dinner, you just ate and we found that difficult, we'd get the giggles and be sent away from the table. We weren't allowed to ride our bikes, go to the beach, knit or sew on Sundays. We'd do it anyway and Dad couldn't make these rules stick

Even in cases where the child was separated from both parents it was the existence of a man in the house after the war that called for the most adaptation. An analysis of the results revealed prior to 1940 six interviewees claimed their relationships were difficult with their fathers two reported distant relationships and three had a bad relationship with both parents. Post 1945 eleven interviewees reported difficult relationships with fathers, two distant relationships and seven had a bad relationship with both parents. Those who experienced a change in their relationship with their parents had also experienced a long separation period from them (five years). For Sybil it was easier to accept that her father was dead than just absent from the home:

During the war, as the years rolled on, I can remember telling

people my father had died (he hadn't) because he didn't come home and my friend's father didn't come home because he'd been killed in the war, so, as I didn't see mine I assumed he was dead. I didn't grieve about him at all. Mother worked, we had a nice little routine going and we were close until she died when she was ninety. The war years made us close. It was quite a trauma having a man in the house (after the war). Mum and I had always slept together in a big double bed because of the air raids, suddenly there was mum getting into bed with this man I didn't know. I remember getting into their bed nearly every night and squeezing down between them but they never got cross, they handled it very well. I think one or other must have got out and gone and slept in my bed.

Linda did not recognise her father and her relationship with her mother was a difficult one:

I didn't really remember mum and dad when I came back. When we arrived back on the boat my sister said 'that's dad', I said 'it's not, he was much bigger than that'. He'd lost a lot of weight. Mum had lost five stone. The only time after the war I really got close to my mother was when I got married and she used to visit me on her own.

For Edith the new man in her life meant little more than a stranger giving her orders which she resented:

When we came home at the end of the war this man suddenly appeared (her father, who had remained on the Island) and started telling me what to do, I didn't take it very well.

It was not only the child that had difficulty in reforming the relationship with the father, in at least two cases the father had difficulties in coping with the return of the child.

Amy, who had remained on the Island with her father and grandparents whilst her step mother and brother had evacuated to the U.K. described her father's response to her returning brother, 'The relationship between him and my father wasn't good. He was sent off to boarding school in Jersey'.

How the return was handled

For many the return home was not as jubilant as one might expect. They had formed relationships in the U.K., settled into new homes become part of other people's families and made new friends. In the five- year evacuation period many had established new lives. How the return home was managed may have influenced the likelihood of re- establishing relationships disrupted by the separation.

Some parents became very protective of their children and behaved in an almost disbelieving way that after five years their children had been returned to them.

According to Joan, 'Mum and Dad used to peer round the bedroom door to check we were still there'.

Some parents managed to make the transition between seeing their offspring evacuate as children and return as adults, despite the apparent time warp that had

occurred in Guernsey during the five occupied years. Betty was thirteen when she evacuated with her younger sister, she explained how for her parents the years had apparently stood still but despite this they quickly recognised their daughter was no longer a child but rather a young woman. She demonstrated that compromise on both sides was necessary to rebuild the relationship:

They (parents) recognised I was nearly 19, they were very sensible and realised I was no longer a child. They didn't try to treat me as a child. My sister found it a lot more difficult because she remembered them alright but she had gone away as a child that was molly coddled, learnt to stand on her own feet but coming back at fourteen she was still at school, my parents were thinking of her as a child still. She found it more difficult but I was very fortunate, they did accept me as what I was and we were so glad to be home that we were prepared to do things that you wouldn't have done. I can remember my mother had kept some of my clothes that she thought....she always kept back, always hoping we'd be back in time to have certain things and we'd had some dresses made just before we'd gone away that Spring, which we hadn't taken with us, so she kept them in the hope we'd use them. I could get into mine so I wore it and I came back from Sunday school and she said..... I'd actually come back (from England) wearing quite grown up clothes really..... she said 'oh, Dad and I were saying when we saw you come back, that really isn't you now'. They had been in a time warp over here you know.

Mother told us, had they have known, she would never have sent us away. She said she cried so much for us she didn't ever cry again for the rest of her life, she had no tears left (Betty)

Betty's parents were not the only ones who regretted evacuating their children:

The evacuation was a good thing from my point of view but not my parents and they said they would never let us go like that again. (Joan)

A teacher pointed out my Dad, who looked like a very thin old man leaning on a stick. He'd been very ill and they (doctors) didn't think he'd survive the occupation but he did, due to will power. They reckoned he wanted to see his girls again. He had a smile on his face and my mother was next to him. He put his foot on the wheel of the bus and hauled himself up and put his head through the window to kiss me. I just sat there, I didn't respond. He fell back into my mothers arms, he'd used all his strength up. (Gwen)

Whilst relationships with parents may have suffered due to the separation period it would appear that in the majority of cases the damage was not permanent and findings suggest that damaged parent child relationships were retrievable despite a five- year period of separation.

An analysis of the results revealed that in this research those who experienced disharmony in their relationships with parents before the evacuation continued that experience post 1945. Perhaps of significance is that those whose relationships with

parents had been good in 1940 and those who reported poor relationships with their parent's post 1945 had all been evacuated and separated from their parents. The commonalities between those who reported good parent/child relationships prior to 1940 and post 1945 were: all considered their parents to be supportive and all remained with their parents either as evacuees or as occupied Islanders. Thus a shared experience and a continuous caring and nurturing relationship would appear important to good parent/child relationships.

One might expect those who reported good relationships with parents prior to the evacuation and poor relationships after the liberation to have had unhappy war experiences but this was not the case, all claim to have had happy evacuation experiences apart from one interviewee, therefore other variables must be at work.

One factor, which may have had some bearing upon the way in which the child/parent relationship was affected, was the way the child perceived the evacuation/occupation experience. The criteria used for this was whether the child perceived the experience as an adventure or traumatic (these words were the choice of the interviewee and were introduced by them during the interviews, they were not used by the interviewer). Ten interviewees reported the evacuation/occupation experience as an adventure, of these eight were evacuated and two remained on the island. Nine out of ten remained with at least one parent. By 1945 five of the ten claimed to have good relationships with both parents, four good relationships with one parent and in one case both parents were deceased by 1945. Seven interviewees described the experience as traumatic, five were evacuated, two remained on the island, three resided with one parent, four had other carers for the period. By 1945 only one had a good relationship with both parents four had a good relationship with

one parent and two had bad relationships with both parents. Continuity of care by parents appears to be significant in regard to the positive perception of the experience. Interestingly those who viewed the experience as an adventure tended to be older children and young males, there was one young female who formed part of the adventure group but she is a transsexual and has undergone surgery for gender correction and this may have influenced her cognitively.

Another factor that appeared to be significant in terms of relationship outcomes between the parent and child was how supportive the child perceived the parent to be. Four females whose relationships with their parents had been good prior to 1940 and were considered bad by 1945, had all been looked after by parents until the evacuation and were looked after by other carers between 1940 and 1945, all experienced separations of five years plus from their parents and considered their parents supportive. This would suggest that they were attributing the relationship difficulties they had after the war to something other than their parents' attitude towards them.

Seven interviewees claimed their parents were unsupportive. Of these, three experienced bad relationships with their parents prior to 1940, this continued post 1945, two described their relationships with parents as distant, this continued post 1945 and two who previously had good relationships with both parents remained living with their mother, were separated from their fathers for five plus years and reported a bad relationship with him after the war.

Perhaps of interest is the fact that so many children claimed to have bad relationships with their fathers. Eleven claimed good relationships with mothers but bad with

father, five of these indicated a deterioration in the father child relationship after the war, a further six claimed bad relationships with both parents, four of the six indicated a deterioration in relationships after the war. This suggests that seventeen out of forty interviewees, just under half claimed to have bad relationships with their fathers post 1945 compared with eight in 1940 in addition to this two interviewees claimed distant relationships with both parents before and after the war.

On the whole more fathers than mothers were separated from their children due to being in His Majesty's Forces or due to staying on the Island throughout the occupation, sometimes this was through choice sometimes it was through an inability to get off the Island before the occupation commenced. Possible explanations for the father child relationships include: fathers of that generation tended to have a more disciplinary role in the families rather than an affectionate nurturing role and mother and father roles were possibly more clearly defined. An alternative and more appealing reason, given that half of those who claimed to have bad relationships with fathers did so after the war, is that separation from the father is as significant as separation from the mother.

One might expect the management of the separation experience to be significant in the outcomes of the experience but this is not borne out in the findings. Children who found the experience of separation traumatic did not necessarily have unhappy evacuation experiences but they were more likely to have difficult relationships with at least one parent after the war. This may imply that the child had unresolved issues with the parents regarding the separation that resurfaced on their return home. Perhaps the approach that was most destructive was not including the child in the

discussion about the evacuation and then not informing the child once a decision had been made. This left the child confused and disorientated.

Having a known home to go to with members of the extended family, provided the child felt wanted at the home, and /or having a contact name to approach for financial assistance or other support appeared to offer the connection with home and the assurances that many children needed. Another buffer to the potentially damaging effects of separation was the belief that “one was special”. As was the case with one interviewee who even after fifty years felt that her foster home had been especially chosen for her because she was from the Channel Islands, despite the facts which clearly suggested this was not the case. As far as some of the interviewees were concerned the idea of being different worked against their well-being, they found it was difficult to gain acceptance and fit in because they were Channel Islanders. Acceptance and feeling wanted did appear to affect the outcomes of the separation from parents.

Overview

The trauma of separation of child from parent due to the evacuation and occupation does appear to have had a negative effect on the parent child relationship, but this was not a universal experience and where damage was experienced findings suggest that in the majority of cases the damage was not permanent.

The findings do provide evidence of difficulties in family relationships and changes in the dynamics of the family following separation, with the father being the focus of most of the child's hostility and the father experiencing the most difficulties in the readjustment period which followed the Liberation. In some cases the father's role as

decision maker, authoritarian, or head of the house appears to have been undermined. During the period of separation, especially in the cases where the child remained with the mother but not the father, the father appears to have lost his influencing role and some interviewees reported resenting their fathers presence and only taking instructions from their mother. This may of course, be part of the natural development of a child moving from one life stage to another.

These findings suggest the relationship between the child and the father is more vulnerable to separation experiences than that of the mother and child. Twice as many interviewees reported having poor relationships with their fathers post 1945 compared to those who made the claim for pre 1940. This finding may be due to the role of fathers during this particular period in history as distant, authoritarian and disciplinarian whose parenting skills were based on Victorian principles as demonstrated by their own fathers.

There was also evidence to suggest that surrogate parents did provide a buffer against trauma for children. The terms 'competent' and 'resourceful', as used in the research question, need further definition and clarification but this research suggests that a child looks for emotional and psychological needs to be met over and above material needs. When the child felt wanted and loved they reported happy evacuation experiences when they felt unwanted, unloved or taken for granted they reported unhappy evacuation experiences. There appears to be a need to belong to someone. Familiarity with potential caregivers is only preferable if the caregiver is responsive to the child's needs, so placing the child with a member of the extended family is not necessarily beneficial to the child and a stranger may prove a more suitable care giver.

The ideal situation for good parent child relationships appears to be a shared experience and a continuous caring and nurturing relationship even in the harshest of conditions.

Chapter 7

Sibling Relationships

One of the themes that emerged from the data analysis of this evacuee research was the sibling relationship, and so this research poses questions about the factors that influence the sibling relationship and in turn how the relationship influences the sibling. Of interest is the finding that some sibling relationships were irretrievably damaged and this has led me to examine why this should be so.

Interviewees were asked about their relationships with siblings prior to the occupation and evacuation in order to ascertain whether or not a poor relationship with siblings prior to the separation affected the outcome. The analysis revealed that some siblings remained with parents whilst others were evacuated and in some cases even when the family evacuated together some children were sent by parents to live with strangers or other family members. This may have led to sibling rivalry and hostility.

In order to examine some of these issues comparisons were made between those who were separated from siblings and those who were not; those who remained with parents and those who did not; continuous separation versus temporary separation, happy experiences during the separation versus unhappy experiences and finally evacuated siblings with occupied siblings.

In this research there appears to be no evidence to suggest a pattern exists between age, separation and the type of relationship the siblings experienced after the war. Those relationships, which appear to have suffered following the separation experience, can be found across all the age groups included in this research.

Sixteen interviewees reported long separations from their siblings (years rather than months). Of these six claimed good relationships prior to the evacuation but poor relationships with siblings after the war. An analysis of the data indicates that those most likely to experience good relationships after the war were siblings who had prior to the war enjoyed a good relationship with their siblings and were not separated for any length of time. The only condition that allowed for a separation without a disruption to relationships was when the separation was part of the natural process of family life, when siblings who left were of an age to leave home to work, attend university or marry and form new families.

Analysis of data in this research suggests that there is evidence that those who were separated from siblings had poor relationships after the war. Nineteen children were separated from their siblings in 1940. In 1945, following a five year separation, nine of the nineteen reported poor relationships with siblings they had previously experienced good relationships with. It would appear that the separation experience did have an impact on sibling relationships. No-one claimed that the separation had improved their relationship with their sibling:

By the time I started school the sister next to me (in age) was at school, the next sister had just passed her scholarship to the Intermediate school,

they had a scholarship in those days. My brother was just finishing, he was at the Grammar School then, he left at about fourteen years. I can remember him leaving and getting a job but I didn't really know him well because he was that much older than I was. He had his friends, not that we were on bad terms or anything, he was just so much older and I was the baby of the family, the first one to bed. My sisters were of similar age to each other, they went together a lot. They were all very kind to me, we all got on well together, it was a happy home life

(Hilda)

Hilda replied, when asked about her relationship with the siblings she had been separated from:

It was a bit... we never, its not that we didn't get on but there was always that bond between my sister who had been with me all the time and me. My oldest sister (from whom they had both been separated) came back and my other sister said she was never the same as she had been before the war. Before the war she was always bright and breezy and it was 'let's do this' or 'lets go there', any mischief and she was there in the forefront. She always said to me 'I wish you could remember G before the war'. I used to say 'oh G doesn't do this' and ' G is depressed' and 'G doesn't want to come out' and 'G won't do so and so' .

Harry spoke of his brother who lives on the Island. The two brothers were separated, one grew up in a children's home the other was evacuated with an aunt:

He lives over here, we say hello but we haven't really got anything in common. We are not brothers or friends because we haven't been brought up together.

Sibling Rivalry and Parenting Behaviour

Seven interviewees remained with their parents whilst their siblings were evacuated or lived with other carers and six interviewees were evacuated or lived with other carers whilst their siblings remained with their parents, four of the seven claimed poor relationships with siblings on their return after the war. Three of the six who were evacuated or cared for by someone other than parents claimed good relationships with siblings after the war.

One area of consensus in parent -child and sibling research relates to the way in which parents behave towards their children (Boer, Goedhart & Treffers 1992; Brody, Stoneman, McCoy 1992; Hetherington 1988; McHale, Crouter & McGuire 1995). The evacuation and occupation research identified problems between sibling relationships when one sibling or several siblings were evacuated whilst others remained with parents. Some children within the family were considered too young to be evacuated without parents. It was the Education Authority, through the auspices of the schools, that organised the evacuation of the children. Consequently, any child under school attendance age was not part of the evacuation unless they travelled with parents. Whilst children recognise that being treated fairly by parents does not necessarily mean being treated the same, being evacuated whilst some siblings remained with parents did cause conflict in some families.

As Yvonne, who remained with her mother and two siblings whilst other siblings were evacuated recalls:

My brothers and sisters all went as children and came back as grown ups. Two of my sisters didn't get on and argued. It took a lot to settle down, they'd all changed. My eldest sister used to accuse me of being the 'pet' because I tried to help my mum but she wouldn't. I think I was very close to my mum because I didn't go away. I was clingy, the others always said I was the pet.

Brenda referred to the resentment and conflict which resulted in her family because her parents allowed some children to be evacuated whilst keeping others at home with them:

There was a lot of conflict between the older children and my mum and dad. The older ones said 'you weren't there to look after us and we were sent away' – there was a lot of aggro between my parents and the older ones.

This interviewee went on to explain how, when the older siblings came back, they were aggressive towards her and used to hit her with hairbrushes and attempt to 'control' her.

For at least one child the evacuation meant a complete loss of all close relationships with parents and siblings and an inability to form new relationships with foster parents despite their kindness. This particular child had experienced a loving

childhood prior to the occupation. She had got on well with siblings prior to her evacuation. Her siblings remained with her parents on the island. It was Ursula's own decision to evacuate with her school; she acknowledges this.

When I got home things weren't wonderful because my mum didn't understand me anymore. My sister was jealous of me because I was made a fuss of. I was like a fish out of water. I can't tell people how I felt, I wasn't angry they'd let me go, I just didn't fit in. I'd grown apart from them.

A number of evacuated interviewees in this research reported incidents of suffering from depression and claimed to have received counselling or psychiatric treatment. Of these some had chosen to be evacuated, in all cases they had been separated from their siblings. Interviewees who remained with parents also reported cases of siblings who had evacuated experiencing psychiatric problems on their return and in a few cases throughout their lives which they claimed resulted in alcoholism and/ or long-term psychiatric treatment programmes.

'Competent' and 'Resourceful' Carers

Whilst a sibling relationship can be more intense when the parental care is emotionally unfulfilling or unavailable, the intensified bond can either be helpful or harmful to the children's relationship depending on the attitudes and behaviours of the parents and the personalities of the children:

I didn't really remember mum and dad when I came back.

I went back to England to live with my, by then married, sister, who I'd lived with during the first part of the evacuation, and

school holidays. She'd been more like a mother to me. (Linda)

Alice took on a mothering role to two of her siblings:

The crippled one that I looked after, after the war grew away from me and wanted to be independent. She married, then divorced and now lives alone. The other one lives in Australia, we are very close because I was like her mum and brought her up.

Ruth also explained how a sister's role changed:

My sister looked after my brother and I so much while we were evacuated that we called her 'Mum'.

The parenting role was not only a volunteer role but in some cases was borne out of necessity and older children were instructed by teachers to take on a parenting role for the younger ones. Betty, who evacuated with her sister and the school, the school remained together throughout the war, explained:

We were sent to this house with our younger sisters where we were then the senior girls. I was the youngest of the senior girls. We had to look after the younger ones, do the washing for them and that sort of thing.

Eventually the two sisters moved in with their uncle and aunt on the condition that they could afford to buy their own bed and that Betty would give up school:

I first went to live with my aunt and uncle in the August (1940), they suggested that I stayed at home to look after my sister and my cousin.... so I stayed at home until well into the New Year and then I started evening classes. (Betty)

Loss of Contact, Loss of Relationship.

Whilst relationships with parents may have suffered due to the separation period it would appear that, on the whole, damage was not permanent. However, when siblings were separated this frequently resulted in an irretrievable breakdown in relationships.

Gwen demonstrated the importance of not separating siblings when she spoke of the outcomes of the separation on her and her siblings. Her brother had remained with her parents in Guernsey, she and another sister remained together but in unhappy circumstances. Her second sister was billeted on her own:

It wasn't that we (brothers and sisters) didn't get on, it just wasn't the same. I was always closer to the sister I'd been with during the war. My other sister became depressed, she was never the person she'd been before the war.

Interviewee Ivor had been born into a working class family of eleven children. His father was a sailor; he died when Ivor was nine years old. On evacuation Ivor was fostered firstly by a wealthy businessman who worked in finance and then by a wealthy businessman who owned his own business. He had been impressed by the

way his foster father dressed and lived and aspired to be like him. Ivor became a banker and this appears to have influenced the way in which he viewed his siblings on his return to the Island:

Mother died during the occupation. She had tried to commit suicide. She was fifty-five when she died, I was fourteen. I had no real contact with my brothers and sisters (10 of them) during the war. After the war I saw my brothers and sisters from time to time but we were very different with different interests. They were all ordinary folk doing ordinary jobs and none of them owned any property. I did better than my brothers and sisters because I perhaps had a slightly better brain.

Interviewee Arthur remained on the Island whilst his older sister was evacuated. Fifty years later the interviewee did not know where his sister had been evacuated to or what had happened to her because they had never been close enough after the war to discuss it. On her return she became an alcoholic, left the Island to join the armed forces and eventually died prematurely due to alcoholism:

When she came back she was my sister but we were like strangers.

(Arthur)

Amy had remained on the Island with her father, uncle and grandparents, her stepmother and half brother had evacuated. After the war she had to get used to the idea that she was no longer an 'only child', she had a stepbrother, who was eventually dispatched to boarding school due to a poor relationship with his father, further children were born to her father and stepmother:

It was a traumatic household after the war and I was very glad to have my grandmother to run to. I was restricted more than I had been when they (stepmother and half brother) were away. My half brother and I didn't get on particularly well because he had been like an only child (in the U.K.) and so had I (in Guernsey) for five years.

And Alice described how the war disseminated her relationships within her family:

There were six of us altogether, four girls and two boys. The eldest was a restless boy. He joined the artillery before the war started and we didn't see him again until after the war because he went to India and was taken prisoner. I had two brothers and a sister older than me. Today I see my eldest brother, who was a prisoner. My second brother I don't see, we just can't get on. My oldest sister is dead but we were fairly close as children before the war but the parting created a distance between us. My mother (when they returned) didn't want anything to do with any of us – that is the cruelty of war. The whole family was like strangers.

What is interesting is the way in which excuses are made for parent's perceived rejection, but siblings are treated more harshly. In the case of Alice the war is blamed for the mother's rejection of her family. Ivor explained how his mother was worn out from having too many children and this accounted for her lack of communication with him and her subsequent suicide attempt.

The findings of this research suggest that separation is detrimental to the sibling bond and children who are separated from brothers and sisters may never resolve their feelings of loss. The words of Hilda echo the words and experiences of many of the interviewees in this research:

You can't take a family apart for five years and then put them back together again without help and support, which we didn't have. Our family never recovered from that split.

Overview

Of the children who reported having had good relationships with their siblings prior to 1940 and bad relationships with them post 1945 all had experienced long periods of separation from their siblings. All of those who were not separated from siblings claimed to have good relationships with siblings before, during and after the war.

Some interviewees reported being separated from some of their siblings whilst remaining with others, in each case they reported good relationships with the siblings they remained with but bad relationships with those they were separated from. Seven children remained with their parents whilst some or all of their siblings were evacuated. Six of the seven reported a bad relationship with their returning siblings. This may be because of the period of separation or because the returning sibling felt aggrieved or resentful that they had not had the presence of their parents as their sibling had. Evidence existed in this research of the latter being the case.

Six interviewees were sent away whilst some of their siblings remained with their parents. They all reported bad relationships post 1945, a deterioration in the previously good pre- evacuation relationship. In the two cases where separation from

siblings existed but relationships were unharmed, the separation was part of a natural process of older brothers and sisters maturing and leaving the family home to attend university or marry and start their own families. The process then, was a gradual and natural one not an unexpected or hastily actioned procedure.

Of the interviewees who had been diagnosed and treated for depression, all claim to have had good relationships with siblings before the war, eleven had been separated from siblings, nine claimed to have bad relationships with siblings post 1945. (Interestingly eleven claimed good relationships with one or both parents after the war, one was orphaned and only two had bad relationships with parents). These findings may suggest that the depression was a result of sibling separation or that one source of protection against depression might be to have a supportive relationship with siblings and when this support is undermined the individual is more vulnerable.

Unlike the situation with parents when the effects of separation may prove to be short lived, damage to the sibling relationship appears to be difficult to rectify. Most of those who reported a damaged relationship with siblings following a period of separation also reported that the relationship never recovered. Many claimed that they were like “strangers”, “they no longer had anything in common”, “there was always a distance between them” and “that the relationship was never the same again”. Some had no idea, after fifty years, what had happened to their siblings during the period they were separated, they were unable to tell me where siblings had lived or with whom they had lived. Possible explanations for this could include a natural process of maturing and becoming independent but this happens within families who remain together without necessarily causing a break down in sibling

relationships. Possibly the influence of surrogate parents and the imposition of different values may account for the outcomes. The notable exception to the findings was the interviewee who had been placed in a children's home with his sisters, the sisters were adopted by different families and eventually tracked the interviewee down fifty three years later. He claims they have a good relationship and get on well but to date their relationship has been carried out over the telephone and they had not yet met at the time of the interviews being carried out.

A significant finding in this research relates, unexpectedly, to the second research question of this thesis. A 'competent' and 'resourceful' carer emerged for many of the interviewees in the form of a sibling. In the absence of a parent a child appears to have taken on the parenting role to their siblings. It is interesting that this role was always reported as being a maternal role. No one in this research reported an older brother taking on a paternal role. The role was often retained even after the war had ended and the families were reunited.

The findings of this research support the notion that there were difficulties in family relationships and dynamics following the separation period and that many sibling relationships reported as good prior to the evacuation and occupation irretrievably broke down. Whether occupied or evacuated siblings who remained together experienced fewer relationship problems than those who were separated. This suggests that the sibling relationship is vulnerable and difficult to retrieve following long periods of separation.

Chapter 8

The Occupied and the Evacuated

This thesis aims to investigate the long term effects of the evacuation and occupation. One of the research questions of this thesis posed the question: what caused the conflict between those who had remained on the Island, throughout the occupation and those who had returned to the Island, having previously evacuated ?

An analysis of the results (based upon the coding) suggested a number of possible explanations each one relating to the over riding narrative which appeared to be one of a sense of loss. This loss could be applied to many aspects of the individual's life. Fourteen people who took part in this research used the phrase "I feel I missed out on something". Of the fourteen who specifically felt they had missed out on something six had been diagnosed with and treated for depression in later life. An analysis of the transcripts gives an indication of what these losses might be.

Loss of Shared Values and Beliefs.

Prior to the Second World War, Guernsey would have been described as a collectivist society. Social networks were close and complex and social control manifested itself through the approval and disapproval of the community and the extended as well as nuclear family, the extended family being extensive. After the Second World War the social networks appear to have been less close. The Island's culture after the Liberation appeared to change rapidly. Islanders who had remained on the Island between 1940 and 1945 appeared to remain 'fixed in time' due to a lack of outside influences for a five year period, whilst those who had left the Island, and

experienced a very different and less insular life brought back new ideas with them, according to the findings this was a cause of some conflict.

The word 'culture' stems from the Latin "colere" meaning to build on, cultivate or foster. Since the Eighteenth Century the word culture has emerged in the sense of products that are worthy, for example, music, art, literature. This definition of culture is still in usage (Maletzke 1996). During the Nineteenth Century the concept of mass culture and popular culture emerged fueling the critical theory of the Frankfurt School and the Birmingham School. Culture was perceived to be:

both the means and values which arise among distinctive social groups and classes, on the basis of their given historical conditions and relationships, through which they 'handle' and respond to the conditions of existence.

(Hall in McQuail 1994: 100)

Another definition of culture, the definition used in this thesis, is a set of values and attributes of a given group and the relation of the individual to the culture and the individual's acquisition of those values and attributes, in the words of Geert Hofstede: "the collective programming of the mind" (1992 p5). Fisher defines culture as:

A shared behaviour which is important because it systematises the way people do things, thus avoiding confusion and allowing co-operation so that groups of people can accomplish what no single individual could do alone. It is behaviour imposed by sanctions, rewards and punishments for those who are part of the group (Fisher 1988).

For this research the definition of culture adopted will be – the totality of the following attributes of the Islanders: shared values and beliefs as well as behaviour arising from these. Culture is accepted, in this research, as a collectively held set of attributes which is dynamic and changes slowly over time.

The individual and the culture in which he or she lives is a complex set of relationships. The individual determines the culture and is determined by that culture (Dahl 1968). The significant factor for this research is that by contributing to the culture the individual is part of the cultural change. This appears to have been one of the causes of conflict between the evacuated and the occupied. Following five years of separation and the effects of two very different cultures during that time the evacuees and those occupied each appeared to feel threatened by, or rejecting of, the other's lifestyle. The returning evacuees brought with them aspirations and expectations which had been borne from five years in the UK, many evacuees felt there was less to do socially in the Island than they had been used to; they had become used to a certain standard of modernisation that the Island, on the whole, had not yet experienced (inside toilets and bathrooms, hot and cold water, mains sewerage) the closeness both emotionally and geographically of family and community life which had been viewed positively was now construed by some to be claustrophobic. The occupied were accused of being entrenched in the past and narrow minded.

There is little doubt, according to the findings of this research, that the culture of Guernsey, was affected by the war in a number of ways. Initially the close community and freedom enjoyed by Islanders was lost when the Island was

occupied. During the five years of occupation Islanders had to readjust to a more dictatorial state where their behaviour was restricted. This was perhaps the first period of cultural stress. From the interviews it appears that those evacuating were confronted with a totally new environment that was almost the opposite of that being experienced by those on the Island, they were more anonymous, away from the social controls of family and friends and they experienced greater freedom than they had been used to prior to the evacuation. The second period of cultural stress occurred after the liberation of the Islands when those who had been occupied had more freedom to move around the Island, gone were the curfews and eventually the Island; its cliff paths and beaches all became, once more, accessible to all Islanders. Whereas those returning, frequently felt they had lost their new found freedom and were returning to the old established ways of Guernsey life. This in itself may have led to a lack of understanding on the part of both groups of the adjustments necessary to re establish life in Guernsey and may have provided grounds for conflict.

One effect of evacuating the children from Guernsey, was the damaging of cultural links. Although it was unintentional, the methods of transmitting language and identity blurred following the evacuation. Attempts were made to protect the identity of those evacuated by the formation of the Channel Islands Society. Groups met on a regular basis and exchanged the little news each had received via the Red Cross letters about life back home in the Island (Interviewees). The groups which were set up in Southampton, London and Stockport, where sufficient people were based and wanted to attend, had two functions, firstly to provide some form of emotional and social support for Islanders who were away from loved ones and their homes and secondly to fund raise to help Islanders in financial difficulties. The London group also attempted to find the whereabouts of individuals and families and keep a register

of them so that other family members who had been separated in the hurried evacuation could be reunited with them. The Society's president was P.W. Luce (*Monthly Review of the Stockport and District Channel Islands Society* No1, May 1941). After the Islanders returned home in 1945 the Society met on two or three more occasions before disbanding in the 1950s

If one refers back to the definition of culture used in this thesis then it seems that loss was experienced in relation to shared values, beliefs and behaviour. The pre 1940 collectively held (or accepted) values and beliefs were being challenged. This was a source of conflict.

Loss of Self Esteem

Guernsey people are renowned for being both proud and stubborn (their self styled nickname is the Guernsey Donkey) and this extended itself to financial matters during the evacuation period. The label 'refugees', was strongly rejected by some of the interviewees who saw this as an insult to their independence as it implied they were financially, socially and emotionally dependent upon the English Government. Many interviewees proudly and assertively pointed out during their interviews that monies were made available to them from parents' business transactions with U.K. companies. Others were just as keen to make it clear how hard parents worked in order to support them:

My father got us (mother & I) £3 per month from his firm (insurance)
so whilst in England, we got no other allowances from anywhere else.

We had to pay rent for our house and we didn't have any handouts.

Mother worked in a munitions factory. Before the end of the war

she'd been made manageress for this big canteen – quite an achievement for a Guernsey girl. (Sybil)

Connie who remained with her extended family told of how little they survived on:

There were fifteen of us living in this empty house. Of course the thing was it all had to be furnished from scratch. We used to have at the beginning, a couple of sort of crates with a plank of wood which gave seating down the side of the table for everybody to sit to eat.

Evacuated children appear to have faced a hazard over and above that of being evacuated to war torn England and that took the form of perceived discrimination on their arrival in the U.K. and on their return. According to several interviewees, one of the most insulting labels attached to Guernsey evacuees was that of refugee. Such responses either led to the individual fighting back in defence as described by Theresa:

In England, I used to get so angry because the other kids called us refugees and we weren't. My mother kept us and clothed us, we didn't rely on the Government.

or questioning the integrity of their family:

When we moved to Cheadle Heath we had to attend a different school but the headmaster didn't like evacuees – he said he didn't

have room for us. That school was across the road from us, there was another school we could attend so we went there and the headmaster was lovely. The other head, having said he didn't have room for us took someone else into the school. I thought we were a good family, we'd been brought up to be honest and we didn't steal.

(Vera)

Either way the key point here is a lessening of self worth, a feeling that you are being judged in unfavourable terms and not held in high regard. Other interviewees spoke of the humiliation of being scrubbed in tin baths in view of other evacuees before being fostered. They felt degraded and shamed.

Whilst many of the interviewees who were evacuated told stories of hardship experienced in the U.K. during the war, there is little doubt that, compared with those who remained on the Island, the evacuees were far better off materially and nutritionally. Some of the interviewees who were occupied described their peers as several inches taller than them and heavier than them when they returned to the Island. This in itself became a source of conflict between teenage boys. The returning boys were bigger and stronger and had experienced life off the Island, in the words of one male interviewee, "the local girls flocked around them" (Edward). Some evacuees were accused of "running away" and abandoning the Island, they were labelled "cowards" and "yellow" (Cruickshank 1991). Perhaps, almost in retaliation, those who stayed were called "collaborators" (Edward). Again all of this led to resentment and conflicts amongst the occupied and the evacuated.

Loss of Indigenous Language

For many years Guernsey patois was spoken on the Island, and for some children it was their first and only language. Guernsey patois is a form of Normandy French. It was particularly used in the higher parishes of the Island (rural district), whilst ‘Townies’ tended to speak English possibly due to the migration to the Island of retired colonials who settled in areas with the more sophisticated resources and facilities.

Some children left the Island with only the ability to speak Guernsey patois but whilst in England quickly learnt English. When they returned to the Island, their brothers and sisters who had not evacuated had to learn English in order to communicate with them. Brenda found her family in this position:

I only knew patois. I couldn’t speak English. I learnt English from my brothers and sisters when they came back. I can make small conversation in Patois now but I’ve lost it now.

Following the evacuation it was considered inappropriate by many Islanders to retain patois as it was viewed as rural peasant language and the more sophisticated ‘Townies’ and retired immigrants from the U.K., many of them ex colonial workers spoke English (Interviews). Also, during the war the evacuees feared that speaking a foreign language in war- time England, would be viewed with suspicion and not assist them in being accepted into the community:

We had started to learn Patois before we left but when away

my father decided that it wouldn't help integration if we spoke a foreign language. By the time we came back it was too late really to learn. (Kay)

Whilst evacuees were learning to speak or speaking English in the U.K. and not continuing to speak and pass on to their children patois, in occupied Guernsey, the presence of the Germans meant that locals, including children, were learning to speak German. At one point the German Authorities issued commands that all the Island's school children be instructed in the German language and some Germans were brought into the Island to teach the children (Cruickshank 1991; interviewees), however this did not prove to be successful:

Towards the end (of the Occupation) they (Germans) wanted us to learn German and this schoolmaster took us and we had to learn this German poem. Well I had enough trouble with French, never mind German. We tried to learn it but I was hopeless like. (Arthur)

Interestingly, what was successful was the inadvertent way in which locals learnt German, through socialising and bargaining. Arthur who had previously claimed he found learning German in the classroom a hopeless task later explained that: "Actually, we learnt more German with them here speaking, you pick it up better yourself". Arthur had had German soldiers billeted with his family and socialised with the Germans during the occupation.

One way of learning German was through the need to survive and avoid hunger as Edward explained: ‘the first thing I learnt in German was “have you any bread please?”’.

After the war, just as the evacuated Guernsey people felt it was inappropriate to speak a foreign language, whilst in the U.K. and consequently their ability to speak patois declined, so occupied Guernsey people felt it unwise to speak German to the returning Islanders and consequently their ability to speak German declined, much to the regret of some; as Amy explained:

What German I learnt I rapidly wanted to forget, which I have regretted ever since.

After the war when the other children and people came back it wasn’t a good idea to be able to speak German or even admit to it (Edward).

Yvonne felt it was a pity that they had not been made to learn German during the occupation. Yvonne’s formal education ceased with the start of the German occupation so she was not subjected to the German lessons which the German Authorities commanded should take place in schools. I do not think Yvonne’s comment was intended to reflect a lack of patriotism but is more related the fact that the ability to be bilingual or at least speak other languages is a valuable asset in life and with hindsight this was viewed as a missed opportunity:

We didn’t have to learn German which was a pity really. (Yvonne)

It is doubtful, based on previous interviewees comments, that Yvonne could have made this statement in 1945.

Loss of Community Support

This research found there existed an element of feeling betrayed (on the part of those who stayed) by those who chose to leave the Island. Betty explained what she had been told had happened during the evacuation process:

It was decided at one stage after we'd gone that if all the Islanders left, the place would be occupied and go to rack and ruin and it would be a good thing if some of the inhabitants stayed to keep the place going so they said "Don't be yellow, don't leave everything".

Accusations of being a coward and running away were levelled at those evacuees returning home. One interviewee felt she could never view the evacuees in the same way again, they would never be "one of us" (Doris). These feelings were insensitively compounded by the local authorities who, for example, held a service of thanksgiving in St James the Less Church and placed a cordon down the middle of the aisle. Children who were evacuated sat one side of the cordon and children who were occupied sat the other, thereby causing a physical barrier as well as a psychological one. Accents further differentiated the two groups, returning children brought with them broad Scottish or Northern England accents, which set them apart from their local peers and may have implied that returning islanders were now part of other communities.

What I remember, I've never forgotten it, it was entirely wrong, prior to school opening (after the occupation) there was a thanks giving service for the pupils who had evacuated and the pupils who were here. It was in St James, it was still a church then. When we got there the people on the door said "were you evacuated or were you here?" We said we were here and we sat on the left and those who had been evacuated sat on the right and there was a division of a rope. It was dreadful, I can see myself now looking across that rope and looking at those people. One or two of them I recognised but the others I didn't and to me they were not of us. I knew they were Guernsey and a lot of them had Guernsey names but you see they were something else. They shouldn't have been, they should have integrated us, we were going to be integrated for the next few years. Some of them spoke with Yorkshire accents, Lancashire accents, Scottish accents even. You always felt that division. You were bound to you see it was the way they spoke. My best friend she had come back from Yorkshire – Huddersfield. She, of course, always spoke that way for the rest of her life and it didn't matter because she was my best friend but it was still odd in a way and you felt differently about them.

(Doris)

A lack of sensitivity on the part of some evacuee children regarding the difficulties of living in an occupied Island, also led to conflict, particularly amongst teenage boys whose bravery and patriotism according to Edward, were brought into question:

It was very difficult for some of us who'd stayed here when the evacuees

came back. I don't think the women and girls felt it as keenly as the boys. When they came back we were segregated, there's no doubt about it. A lot of people that came back said they wouldn't have taken German lessons, they were full of how macho they'd have been. There was quite a bit of fighting. The segregation wasn't physical it was emotional. We were known as the occupation boys. We even had football teams – occupation boys against the evacuee boys.

Furthermore, occupied children had been malnourished and consequently were much smaller in height and weight than their returning counterparts:

When the evacuee boys came back they were so big, the girls were fascinated by them. What we didn't realise, until someone told us, was that all of us who'd stayed here was small for our age. We hadn't felt stunted until then. We didn't get on with them very well, they accused us of being collaborators. (Edward)

Those who had evacuated had been part of a less insular world than those who remained on the Island who had, in effect, been caught up in a time warp, this resulted in more conflict as evacuees returned home with different ideas and values and in the eyes of those occupied, thought they knew better because of their experiences.

There is little doubt that the verbalisation of, or perception of, different experiences resulted in resentment between the occupied and evacuated, not only in the wider

community but also within families. This was implicit in the way Peggy described her family:

I found my relatives that had stayed here were very narrow minded.

You could see the difference between my aunts who'd gone (evacuated) and their husbands who had stayed.

Following the liberation there was much work to be done on the economy and the infrastructure of the Island, consequently large numbers of young U.K. men were brought over to the Island, to work in the building industry and the finance industry, particularly banking. Many of the interviewees in this research formed relationships with these men, married them and moved to the U.K. or settled on the Island with them. In some cases this appears to have caused resentment with people believing local girls should not marry outside the Island and a belief that their experiences in the U.K. during the war had led to local girls feeling local boys were now not good enough for them:

I married an Englishman. When I married people said, "So, a Guernsey mans not good enough for you?" (Alice)

Marriage to someone outside of the Island further diluted the cultural heritage and contributed to the breaking of close-knit community links.

Loss of Education Opportunities

Education also accentuated the differences between the groups. Five years on an Island without the importation of educational resources, added to the fact that the

majority of qualified teachers were evacuated in 'loco parentis' with the children and their posts were taken by a few retired teachers, young children who were forced to leave school and an array of other willing helpers, meant there were severe restrictions on what could be taught in terms of the breadth and depth of the educational curriculum:

The classes were all split up, some people were press ganged into teaching. We just learned the basics – reading and writing. (George)

I think everybody passed their eleven plus! It was a way of separating the older ones from the younger ones. At Burnt Lane it was co-ed but boys were in the minority. There was a scarcity of teachers, the education was appalling. Teachers were mostly rectors or women. We studied algebra, geometry and arithmetic, they were three separate subjects. I didn't know anything about them when I arrived nor when I left. My memories of school are learning by fear.

(Edward)

One might expect from this that the occupied children's education, would have suffered however the limited resources do not appear to have altered ability and progress (Interviewee who acted as a teaching assistant throughout the occupation and trained as a teacher after the Liberation) possibly because in comparison children in the U.K. were also experiencing difficulties in obtaining a continuous and adequate education and were also subjected to shortages in resources. The British Government had made plans for the evacuation of all children from Britain's large cities. Sir John Anderson was placed in charge of the scheme. It was anticipated that

approximately three million children would be evacuated to rural areas. Most of the schools in urban areas were closed down and approximately two thirds were requisitioned for the Government and handed over to Civil Defence Services.

However the evacuation was to be voluntary and only about half the children living in the areas to be evacuated actually evacuated. This meant around a million children were without schools. Schools in rural areas remained open but had to share their facilities with evacuees. This meant the introduction of the double shift system, that is, local children attended the school in the morning whilst evacuees attended in the afternoon (Berwick Sayers 1949). The Government eventually accepted that the evacuation had caused serious problems for education and Chamberlain announced in November 1939 that some schools would reopen. (Berwick Sayers 1949).

Consequently, although occupied Guernsey children lacked the importation of new books; most of the teachers had evacuated with the schools and the Germans requisitioned most of the Island's schools, the fact that those left were in very small classes coupled with the continuity of care by those who took on the teaching role probably accounts for why education was perceived to be satisfactory or good:

The standard of education was higher amongst those who stayed, the teachers said so. (George)

Possibly one reason for this was given by an evacuee who when commenting on his education in the U.K. claimed that his classes were frequently interrupted by air raid warnings and much time which should have been spent in class learning was spent in air raid shelters.

For some the start of the occupation meant an end to their education as Alice explained:

My education finished abruptly on June 18th. I was allocated to a school after the occupation started. I was one of two older girls there. I was placed in charge of the infants – it was a child playing with other children, they learnt to count to ten and their ABC in six months, that's all. We played games to pass the time. The Germans eventually took over the premises and the children were sent to different schools. The older girl and myself were told we'd go to secondary school when it opened but when it did I was fourteen and considered too old.

This problem was not confined only to children who stayed on the Island, Catherine evacuated but her education ceased the day she left Guernsey:

I went to private school (aunty paid) I was there until the evacuation. The evacuation finished my education. I was doing French and book keeping. The evacuation turned your life upside down, how could you study? I was a good scholar before I went away. I didn't go to school ever again. I regret this very much.

Finance appears to have been an issue which hindered the educational progress of some who were evacuated. The cost of school uniforms and travel to Grammar Schools were beyond the capabilities of some carers, such as aunts and uncles who

had taken on the parenting role and needed their niece or nephew to go out to work to support themselves:

Before the war I was educated to a high standard. I was due the year before we went away to take the scholarship exam. We learnt French every day from an early age. We had a strict headmistress – we could do with her today. I enjoyed it. I could have gone to the local Grammar School in Derbyshire but my aunt said she couldn't afford it as there were no grants, I've always regretted not having had the opportunity to go to Grammar School. (Joan)

and outside the interests of others, including parents:

I passed to the Intermediate so the schooling in England must have been quite good. When we came back to Guernsey I never got any piece and quiet to do my homework. When I was fifteen Mum took me out of school. I never finished my education. Mum wasn't educated and didn't value it. (Linda)

For others the opportunities were there but the situation the child found themselves in meant they were unable to take advantage of it, Doris was one such child:

I passed at eleven to Grammar School and the Red Cross helped me find a uniform. I was always nearly bottom of the class, I was too tired for school because I had to sit up and take care of my sick aunt and uncle I couldn't do my homework properly.

For others, whether in Guernsey or in the U.K., the disruptions of war were viewed as the hindrances to obtaining a good education or an opportunity to avoid it:

I didn't go to school for three months. I don't think I went to school much at all because if there was bombing of a night the school was closed the next day. If you've been up all night due to the bombing they couldn't expect you to go to school. I didn't like school. I used to worry all the time about my Dad (he was occupied). (Theresa)

We spent a lot of time hiding in the basement of the school. By the time the air raid was over and we got back to our desks it was too late to do any work then another raid would come and we'd be back in the basement again. (Olive)

However, some interviewees, like Harry, spoke highly of the education they received and of the relationships they had with teaching staff:

We were told we would be behind in our education but that didn't prove the case. The teachers were excellent. The relationship between teachers and scholars was good, they looked after you. I was hopeless at languages, the Germans used to come round to see how we were getting on. One day the German asked me something and I got it wrong – I said I was a girl so he shouted at me. The next time the Germans came to the school the headmaster made me lay on a sofa and he covered me with a blanket, he told the German I was sick.

Returning teachers and students brought with them new subjects and methods of teaching and those who had remained on the island had to adapt. Many interviewees indicated indirectly that this affected their performance after the war. It also caused resentment and was a further contributing factor to conflict:

My last six months the evacuees were back and we were in normal size classes learning physics and chemistry, which they had been learning but which we hadn't. We'd had four lessons a week on German – we didn't any more. Book-keeping, which we'd been taught by an accountant was out. We'd spent a lot of time doing religious studies.

Some of those who evacuated, like Bill, appeared to feel that those who had stayed on the Island had more educational advantages:

I think education wise I'd have done better if I'd stayed here because my wife was educated here throughout the war and I think her education was better than mine, as I say, I can't remember anything I'd been taught at all except discipline in the classroom really. You were there, you sat there, 'write this down', you wrote that down, but I don't really know why I wrote that down.

Whereas some of those who stayed felt they had been disadvantaged compared to those who had been educated in the U.K. The significance of this is that in both groups there were those who felt disadvantaged compared with the alternative, again a breeding ground for conflict and resentment especially when one considers the

longer term impact of a lack of adequate education in terms of career potential, future income, and life opportunities.

Loss of Established Lifestyle.

The ability to readjust after the war caused many of those who were interviewed great difficulties. For some life was an anti-climax and did not deliver what they were expecting, rationing continued, the Island had to be virtually rebuilt, some of those who evacuated returned to find their homes and possessions had been taken over by the Germans or that others who had returned on the first boats had gone to the warehouses where abandoned possessions had been taken, and had first choice of furnishings to rebuild their homes.

This research revealed that the majority of interviewees felt life was good prior to 1940 (thirty-two interviewees) but after the war many found life difficult, the majority of these being the evacuees. Those who were occupied appeared to find life slightly easier after the war, possibly because life was more comfortable after the occupation than it had been during the occupation. On the otherhand, evacuees were returning to less than they had been used to in the U.K. and many found it difficult to adjust:

When we came back it took us time to get back into education.

I went to the Girl's Intermediate School. I found that traumatic because it was a girls school and I'd been used to a mixed school.

(Sybil)

I was doing these exams. We came back in the December and I had done the first term of the school certificate. I came back to find that at the Intermediate, as it was called then, they were doing the other choice of books. I was doing general science, they (Intermediates) didn't have a lab or anything – I couldn't do general science. It was difficult to fit into the school. I didn't know any of the girls. (Connie)

Ruth dreaded returning to the Island, she had established a good life for herself in the U.K. and only returned out of family loyalty:

I didn't want to come back. We came back in September 1945. I felt terrible about coming back. I only came back because of my Dad (being here). There was nothing to do here, no work. Life in Guernsey wasn't as good as it had been in Lancashire.

Ruth was not alone and her feelings were verbalised by many of the interviewees:

I didn't like Guernsey when I came back. I missed my life in England.

(Sybil)

We came back after the war. Guernsey was so quiet, there was nothing, the only work you could get was waitressing in a café and I didn't want to do that, I'd been in the British Home Stores, in every department and been used to cash. I wanted something better than waitressing. I went into the army recruitment office and joined up, my father went bonkers he said

‘Isn’t your home good enough? (Theresa)

When we came back we found it so dull. We’d been used to youth clubs and things, we didn’t like it. All the shops were boarded up and we’d been used to living in a big family (where she’d been fostered). I can remember walking along the front (seafront) with my sister and we said we wished we were back in Bridgewater. It was a funny feeling. It was difficult to fit in. We came back to less than we’d had in the U.K. (Joan)

For some it was not only returning to the Island they found difficult, some had found loving homes and could not adjust to being with their biological family. Linda who had come from a large family felt her mother had never shown her love because she had too many children (13). She also felt that because they were a large family they even went without the basics in life. She grew to love her foster parents and after returning to the Island wrote to them desperate to return to them:

I wrote to Mrs M (foster mother) saying ‘I don’t like it here, we even have to wait for a piece of bread and butter.

Overview

As indicated throughout this chapter feelings of loss appears to be an underlying cause of conflict between the evacuated and occupied with each group perceiving that they were disadvantaged compared with the other group.

A number of interviewees (twenty- four out of forty), both evacuated and occupied, reported that following the liberation life was difficult. This response might have

been expected if one group had regretted the life that they had lived for the previous five years but it is interesting that of those who commented on it, both groups felt that their parents had made the right decision to either evacuate or remain on the Island, (nineteen out of forty). Possibly these claims are a result of loyalty to parents but in view of the number of interviewees who stated they enjoyed a happy evacuation or occupation period (thirty out of forty). Such loyalty, if indeed that is what it was, may be unnecessary. An analysis of the findings suggests that conflict between the two groups may have arisen for a number of different reasons: cultural links were broken, the Guernsey Identity was blurred, feelings of being disadvantaged in some way, education suffered and attempts to replace established ways of life are amongst the most prevalent. Fourteen interviewees reported feeling, and continuing to feel, they had missed out on something in life, two specifying they felt disadvantaged but did not know why. Fourteen out of forty felt their education had suffered in some way, this appeared to be as a result of finding it difficult to fit into new schools and regimes and adapt to new subjects or curricula. Education has an obvious link to career opportunities and lifestyles so this may have been a source of conflict and long term regret.

There is little doubt that five years on the mainland away from the Island did influence some evacuees in that it broadened their horizons, changed the way they viewed things and possibly increased their expectations. It appears to have unsettled many, who moved to the U.K. to live in the years following the liberation. In Guernsey in 1940 bathrooms were for the wealthy, cesspit drainage was (and still is for many) the norm, life was insular, protected and based on a collectivist, almost rural society. The family unit included the extended family and shared child rearing amongst the family was common. Religion, particularly the influence of Catholicism

was evident. The pace of life in Guernsey was slow. Those who had evacuated and returned to the Island brought English and Scottish ideas with them along with strong accents. This appears to have been a source of discomfort for some who had remained here. Equally some of those returning were frustrated by the time warp that met them on their arrival home, the lack of employment opportunities, empty shops and run down houses and they missed what they had become accustomed to in the U.K. Another important cause of discontent was the allegations of collaborating with the Germans which led to feelings of betrayal and distrust on both the evacuee and the occupied sides. For some these negative feelings have never really diminished despite the tides of time, for others, years of allegations and mistrust of their fellow Islanders and the Germans are being laid to rest in a new arena of reconciliation.

Chapter 9

Relationships Between the Germans and the Occupied.

One theme which emerged from an analysis of the data collected for this research was the relationships which were formed between the local occupied person and the German occupying army

Accounts naturally vary from person to person and there is little doubt that previous experiences of the Germans during the First World War coloured the older person's perspectives of the occupying force as became evident in the interviews carried out for this research. Interestingly, children telling their stories in later life appear unaffected by their parents' experiences and views, possibly due to the fact that their own firsthand experiences overwrite the second hand stories of their elders.

This fear was expressed by those interviewed when they spoke of their experiences leading up to the occupation period. One interviewee told how her father burnt every photograph of himself in uniform serving in the First World War, and of how he was "terrified that the Germans would find out he had been a soldier".

To anybody in England, including those who were evacuated from the Islands, the truth about Germans was uncomplicated, they were Nazis and therefore were the enemy. Truth is, of course, far more complex and for those who lived with them and perhaps especially those who spent a large number of their formative years growing up with them, the German soldiers were just "ordinary people".

How far away does a human being have to be before they become the enemy and how close must they be before we see them as human?

Fear

War relies upon the ability to persuade nations to dehumanise the enemy to the point of demonising them. The Germans were portrayed by the British media as arrogant, aggressive, brutal soldiers, with the opposing nations forced to take a stand as victims threatened by a cruel enemy. Ten out of twelve of those who were occupied claimed initially to be afraid of the Germans:

I can well remember the raid the Germans had on the Island two or three days before they landed because they dropped bombs in the Salarie Beach, We knew it was inevitable but we didn't know how they were going to land. I remember being under this table, being absolutely terrified and wetting myself. I'm sure my grandparents did too. (Amy)

I think those who have never heard a bomb fall..... well, it was unbelievable and our world ended then, the world we'd known. Our cousin 'uncle Albert', he was killed (that afternoon). I was terrified. I remember saying would it be a good idea if we recited the Lord's Prayer, to the adults and they thought it would so I recited it and then the noise stopped.... the noise stopped. (Doris)

Brenda recalled being terrified of the Germans and described her first encounter with the occupying force:

I remember the Germans coming to our home, one had a gold tooth

and wanted to carry me, I screamed. Later a group of Germans kept my mum and dad talking whilst another stole our rabbit. I can remember being terrified, seeing all these planes flying overhead. I was also afraid of the men (soldiers) on horseback

Mothers in particular were afraid for their daughters and themselves fearing rape:

I know that at the beginning of the Occupation if any Germans had come through our gate my mother was quite prepared to have turned the gas on in the oven to put my head in first followed by her own to save me from a fate worse than death, because she was quite convinced that every German was ready to rape and pillage.

(Gwen)

Gwen's initial response was amusement:

At first when we saw them (Germans) marching along the road we thought it was something extremely funny, you know, doing the goosetep and having my ear clipped by my mother saying ' you laugh and they'll come and get you and put you somewhere'.

From the above it would appear unlikely that relationships could form between Islanders and the occupying force and yet they did form and fear was in many cases replaced by empathy

Empathy

Double standards of what constitutes justice and fair play are maintained by the opposing nations who fiercely reject any facts that may contradict their beliefs. To empathise with the enemy renders core beliefs vulnerable and threatens our identity as well as self-justification for behaviour. On reflection it would appear from this research that if common ground between the warring parties can be established empathy can result on the part of both parties, this is what the findings of this research suggest may have happened in occupied Guernsey.

Arthur explained how kindness was demonstrated by the Germans to the Island's children:

I was going to Sunday School and a German minister, said 'are you going to school?' we said 'yes', and we were chatting to him and we said 'we haven't had a piece of white bread for ages'. he said 'I'll bring you some'. He walked all the way to St Sampson and back (about eight miles) and brought us some white bread.

All of those who were occupied distinguished between the OT (operation Todt) officers and 'ordinary soldiers'. As previously explained, OT officers were viewed as the real hard core Nazis who supervised those who worked on fortifying the Island, in other words the slave labourers. Interviewees reported seeing these German soldiers beating slaves in the streets and hitting them with their rifle butts:

We all know of course that not all German soldiers were Nazis, they were ordinary people and they've got to jolly well come where they've

been sent haven't they? (Doris)

Edward who became close friends with a German soldier explains what happened just prior to the Liberation:

Two days before the Liberation I saw Paul (German) who looked after the horses, he was longing for the end of the war. The Germans were worried about their families. There I was a fourteen year old boy trying to comfort this German man by telling him in German to have no fear. By this time the Germans were in a worse state than us.

But even after fifty- eight years it remains difficult for some, especially those who were not occupied, to lose the stereotypical ideas of the enemy and what living with them *should* be like. In a conflict between two nations, each with a passionate loyalty to their homeland and its threatened identity, there is a cognitive dichotomy of us versus them. Nationalism is by its very nature self- glorifying and in a conflict between two different nations recognition of the other side's situation is rare. If and when such recognition does take place the reaction to it, by some, is often hostile, brandishing such views as disloyal and traitorous. Media accounts of the Occupation of the Channel Islands, as recently as the 1990s, continued accusing locals of collaboration with the occupying force and spoke of the period in negative terms (Bunting 1995; Pascal 2002).

Reward

It could be argued that the relationships that developed between the occupiers and occupied did so because of a reciprocal reward system. Both parties needed each

other in order to survive, and were prepared to negotiate and compromise their principles in order to meet their needs which may have been emotional and or physical.

One day we were sat on L'Ancrese Common by a rock. My young brothers were playing on the grass when this German soldier came up behind us and stood behind us. My mother got a pot of jam and a piece of rationed bread to cut, to give us children. The German indicated he wanted me to go with him. I went with him to this big house and he came out with half a loaf of officer's bread, which was black, and gave it to my mother and he sat down with us and waited for his. He sat with us all afternoon. (Edward).

Olive's comments like those of both Edward and Arthur suggests that the Germans' and Islanders' behaviour was based on a reward system rather than force. The locals gained food and sweets, the young German soldiers gained the company of children perhaps as substitutes or reminders for their own children back in Germany:

The Germans didn't pressurise our people to work building fortifications, if locals worked on them they did so voluntarily for food. The Germans gave the children sweets or chocolates because many had children of their own. The Germans were kind to children.

After Edward's family's first encounter at L'Ancrese Common with the soldier other encounters followed which led to a long term relationship forming between the

family and the Germans. His friendships were not restricted to the first of the Occupying forces he met:

One of the soldiers that we got on with was the sergeant of the cook house – he did well by us. He was a Catholic. He went back to Germany because his daughter was very ill. When he came back he showed me a picture of his daughter, she was laid out, she'd died. The one in charge of the horses that I made friends with let me play with the horses.

From the above it can be seen that these relationships were more than just passing acquaintances. Edward knew the religious faith of the soldier and the soldier was prepared to share the death of his daughter with this boy, presumably receiving some sort of emotional support and comfort from the boy.

Ruth's father appeared to benefit financially through his relationships with the Germans, he worked in the tobacco factory and whilst it lasted, had access to cigarettes. Although cigarettes were available they were rationed, clearly Ruth's father was in a position to subsidise these rations in return for money. He was also an accomplished card player and perhaps took the opportunity to gain superiority over his occupiers by beating them at cards:

When we got home (after the evacuation) my Dad had bought a house through playing cards and selling cigarettes to the Germans.

Despite the convivial relationship which one assumes must have existed between him and the Germans in order to play cards together, presumably a recreational activity,

the relationship changed when the Germans felt he had duped them by helping a friend to escape.

Strategies for making sense of the situation

The situation Islanders found themselves in was a difficult one. They were occupied by the enemy, who were expected to be aggressive and hostile, but for many the reality was different and all they experienced was kindness from the occupiers. One would expect occupiers and occupied to maintain a physical distance but this was not possible as German soldiers were billeted with Islanders. One might expect the occupiers to retain a differential in respect of food and clothing, after all they had more direct control over these resources. However, this was not the case as by the end of the war the Germans were as hungry and as ragged in their thin worn uniforms as the locals were. Just before the Liberation many of those on the Island were starving, both Islanders and Germans alike. The Red Cross intervened by sending ships to the Island with food parcels. One might expect that the Germans would commandeer these parcels but they did not and the parcels were delivered to Islanders. This behaviour goes against what one would expect from the enemy. There were, therefore, many contradictions during the five years of occupation and these contradictions had to be made sense of and later explained to those returning from the U.K. after the liberation, and other interested parties.

One strategy used by the majority of those who took part in this research and who were occupied appears to have been to separate those whose behaviour was not acceptable from those whose behaviour was. Many, if not all those occupied, distinguished between those they referred to as “ordinary Germans” from those who they referred to as Todt officers. They learnt not to stereotype all Germans as Nazis, something those who were not occupied appear to find difficult to understand.

Furthermore, they judged people on what they did rather than who they were. This approach was explained by Doris; although it should be stated that her father was initially fearful of the arrival of the Germans due to his previous experiences in the First World War

Dad was accepting of people in as much as they were people
first and whatever else afterwards

Amy also differentiated between two types of German soldiers:

There was never a problem with children, they (Germans) were very kind to children, the normal Germans, the others didn't take any notice of us, they were so busy watching their prisoners of war beating them up. I've got no hatred for the Germans. I've got German friends I'm very fond of because there were lovely Germans. The true Germans that shared the shop with dad you see, they were ordinary men who'd left their families behind and they were lovely.

Without doubt for all of those who were occupied the most tragic feature of the occupation was the way the so-called 'slave workers' were treated by those Germans in charge of the Todt workers. These Germans were described as "Nazi like" or "Gestapo", they were not considered to be the same breed as the "ordinary Germans" that the locals came into daily contact with. In fact it was suggested that even the Germans were afraid of these men:

The ones in charge wore a khaki and yellow uniform, they had

armbands with OT on them, they were armed with rifles which they used as battering rams on the workers. (Alice)

Harry differentiated between the two different approaches of the German soldiers:

The trained soldiers were good and highly disciplined, the others that looked after the labourers were cruel.

Conformity and loss of autonomy over one's behaviour are implied not only for those occupied but also for the occupiers as Harry explained:

The Germans were strictly disciplined and very kind, they would go out of their way to make contact. Occasionally highly trained people would arrive from the war zones and you could see the difference between them and the soldiers who were stationed here. They were the Gestapo. There was hatred between the German Army and these other German officers.

From these comments it would appear that there was a clear distinction between those who 'looked after' the slave workers of the Todt and the ordinary soldier who lived and worked alongside the Islanders. This distinction, if accurate, would offer one reason why Islanders formed relationships with Germans, they could clearly relate to them and saw a human side of them.

A significant finding of this research has been a completely unexpected insight into the relationships between the occupied and the occupiers and the way in which

warring factions can find a way to live together and empathise with each other. This may be new evidence although relationships between occupiers and occupied have long been speculated about. Unfortunately, whenever these suspected relationships have been referred to in the past, it has always invoked the negative term of collaborator. This negative accusation which implies less than honourable behaviour on the part of Islanders clouds the possibility of finding out the basis for and reasons for the relationships, as accusations usually require a justification of that behaviour. Rather than be viewed as negative by those who did not experience occupation, with the use of words such as collaborators, black marketeers and traitors perhaps a more useful and positive approach would be to learn from this unique experience about reconciliation, forgiveness and empathy and how to live with or survive with the enemy. A number of interviewees showed a remarkable ability to forgive, they told of how relatives had been wounded or killed by the Germans yet they remained magnanimous in their description of the Germans. In this respect this research does offer a new approach and new attempt at understanding a complex situation.

Amy tells of how her father had an “accident” with a bayonet:

My father had an accident chasing Germans who were stealing from the potato depot. He (father) got a bayonet in his head.

Gwen’s father was shot by a German, again she refers to it as an accident and far from criticising or attacking the Germans she tells of how her father praised them for the care he received and she shows concern over what happened to the perpetrator of the offence:

My father was seriously injured in 1941 or 1942. he was taken to the German hospital. It was an accident and the German who fired the gun was sent to the Russian Front. Father praised them (Germans) for looking after him.

Later on the same interviewee stated:

We saw a lot of the Germans. One got talking to my father and it turned out he was a carpenter. He asked my father if he could use his tools in the shed. My father said 'yes' so he used to bring us presents of soup and bread. The Germans would say, ' Good morning'. We never had any trouble with them – some people just look for trouble.

Doris was one of those who consistently showed concern and pity for the Germans throughout the interview with her. She went against her own mother who hated the Germans and internalised her father's beliefs that Germans were, after all, only people who did not want to be in the Island anymore than the Islanders wanted them here. Her family had also experienced loss when the Germans gunned down her cousin.

Certain words and phrases were repeatedly used by the interviewees, to describe the behaviour of the Germans, one of the most surprising perhaps being 'kind'.

The Germans were strictly disciplined and very kind. (Arthur)

They were so kind in setting out wood for us to pick up. (Doris)

Kind, yes, definitely, I think perhaps they showed more kindness than we knew by ignoring the taunts that we threw at them. (Fred)

On an affective level the ability to transform fear to trust in a situation of threat and enable people to deal with feelings of anger to a point where they can forgive and display compassion for the other side requires empathy. This empathy appears to be displayed in a number of comments made by the interviewees and below are a selection of them:

✦

He brought out a photograph out of his tunic, it was of his family.

I remember saying 'where do you live?' and he said 'Cologne'. I had heard what happened in Cologne. I said to Dad about it and he said 'well we must just hope and pray that the German finds his family'.

(Doris)

We had Germans billeted with us, we were told we had to take them. My father's attitude was very much, they didn't want to be here any more than we wanted them. He was tolerant. (Alice).

There was no point in antagonising them, they didn't want trouble and we didn't want trouble, we had to live together, we had to live together like. (Arthur)

Shared Experience

The close living proximity and the age of the young German soldiers added to the fact that most young men of military age had left the Island meant that relationships between young local women and the soldiers was inevitable and the situation some found themselves in was incongruous. Doris explained how the conflict of interests manifested itself within the family of one of her friends:

Paddy's father was a major in the army his two sisters were going out with them (Germans). Their mother was seething but what could you do? Some of the German officers you see were nice people and in fact the eldest one (sister)....I think they had to wait two years..... I think after the war, to be repatriated..... they waited and they married and they're grandparents in Germany now.

The story did not always have a happy end as Linda explained:

My eldest sister married a German in the war, in Guernsey, but after the war her husband was a prisoner of war and then went back to Germany.

Shared experiences were not just restricted to romantic entanglements, of equal importance to both Islanders and Germans was food:

If we hadn't got the Red Cross parcels we would have starved, we was down to that. Mind you, in all fairness, they (Germans) were as well. (Arthur)

The Germans appeared to acknowledge the need for troops and locals to have some entertainment in their isolated lives, and early on in the occupation brought to the Island a circus. Entertainment was not just shared in a public forum. Some Germans socialised in the evenings with Islanders.

I remember some of them used to bring the guitar in, the Germans,
and play the mouth organ. (Arthur)

Relief that the occupation was coming to an end was also something shared by Islanders and Germans alike. Harry tells of what happened on the morning Guernsey was liberated:

My father hoisted a flag (Union Jack) and four soldiers (Germans)
came out of their house opposite and stood to attention whilst my
father hoisted the flag. One came across the road and shook my
father's hand saying "kinder, kinder, it's good".

Interestingly, it would appear that a spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation with the Germans was not restricted just to the occupied Guernsey person. After the liberation of the Islands the British soldiers remained on the Island and collected together all the army tanks and equipment, they then appointed German soldiers to guard it to ensure local people did not interfere with it. British soldiers not only worked with the Germans after the Liberation they also demonstrated empathy for a weak and dejected people:

I saw this English soldier put down his rifle and he took over, he

drilled some of the cement. Some of the Germans were that weak due to shortage of food. (Arthur)

It should be remembered that Islanders (and German occupiers) were isolated from the rest of the world and what was happening. Islanders were not aware of the concentration camps and the gas chambers. In fact it is only in recent years that *some* of the horrific truth of the time has been made known. Perhaps if Islanders had had more contact with the rest of Europe and had been more informed circumstances may have been different, although now we will never know.

Overview

It is quite clear that relationships were forged between occupiers and the occupied. The basis for these relationships appears to be mixed. A reward system does appear to have been in place from which the relationships then developed, the rewards were clearly different things to different people, for some it was money, for others food or scarce commodities, whilst for others it was emotional support or an attempt to replace the family life they had left behind by joining in the family life of those who remained on the Island.

Chapter 10

DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter is a discussion of the findings in relation to the research questions.

The purpose of this research was to examine the impact of the evacuation and occupation experience on the lives and relationships of Guernsey children and Guernsey society. My aim was to ascertain whether or not relationships were influenced in any way by the evacuation and occupation. In order to achieve this forty volunteers, who were aged between four and fourteen during the 1940 to 1945 period and who either remained on occupied Guernsey, or who were evacuated in 1940, were interviewed.

A dominant claim emerged prior to the interview stage that each interviewee considered that their story was unique and worth hearing above all others. This was conveyed via telephone calls, which took place between me and the interviewees before the interviews were arranged. This would suggest the perceived importance and significance of the experience to each individual and one might expect a life course examination to pay tribute to these experiences, which may in turn colour the experience.

This thesis attempts to address six questions that emerged following analysis of the data collected, the first three: question 1, what effect, if any, could trauma (as defined in Chapter 1) have had on the individual's relationship with parents, siblings and others? question 2, competent and resourceful carers can help to provide a buffer

against trauma in young children, was this evident in this research? and question 3, was there evidence of difficulties in family relationships and dynamics following separation? will all be dealt with concurrently and applied to both parent and child relationships and sibling relationships. Questions 4, 5 and 6 will be dealt with separately, question 4 will be applied to the occupied and evacuated, question 5 applies to the occupied and the occupying force and question 6 will look at the effect of memory and narrative.

The findings in this research presented evidence of many common features of the removal and separation experiences of children from their homes and families. It is difficult to capture the complexity of the effects for each individual. Reactions will depend on the individual, the group, and the context of the separation. For a minority of the interviewees the effects have been multiple and profoundly disabling, and have had an on- going impact and compounding effect causing a cycle of damage from which it was difficult to escape unaided. For the majority this was an important period in their lives and many interviewees claimed they are pleased they lived through it but would not wish to repeat the experience.

The Parent and Child Relationship

Whilst some research suggests that separation from the mother can result in long term damage to the child (Bowlby 1951; Van De Kolk 1987; Lyons 1987; Mowbray 1988; Foster 2000). Other research suggests damage is not inevitable and if it does occur is not necessarily permanent (Clarke 1976; Rutter 1978/1985/1990). Whilst some children in this research did experience long term effects, including depression, as previous research would expect (Bloom - Fleshback & Bloom –Fleshback 1988; Tizard 1979) others did not. This poses the question why? The answer to this may

partly be due to the way in which the separation is carried out. Explaining to the child what is happening and why it is happening may act as a buffer against feelings of confusion and rejection. In some cases this happened in the evacuation occupation research, in others it did not. Also of significance in this research was the response of foster parents to their new charges. If a child felt loved, wanted and cared for they were less likely to experience the trauma of separation from their parents. This contradicts the view that a mother's role cannot be supplanted by a surrogate (Freud et al 1973). Positive relationships with parents prior to separation appear to ensure a more successful outcome of reuniting the child and parent after the separation period.

What was interesting in this research was the significant impact that separation from the father had on the relationship with the child. Nearly half of those separated from fathers claimed to experience a poor relationship with their fathers after the separation ended. This may be for a variety of reasons. Possibly fathers were less likely to show their emotions of relief at having their children returned to them after five years because the culture at the time did not allow "real" men to be emotional, therefore their lack of affectionate demonstrations may have been interpreted by their children as lack of caring or rejection. Possibly those who returned from active service were dealing with their own emotions and nightmares and were not emotionally equipped to deal with their children's emotional needs. A further possible reason for the breakdown in the father/child relationship is that the father was considered an authority figure, the head of the house and the decision maker. Consequently the child may have blamed the father for evacuating them and therefore for the separation. Due to separation experiences there was also a lack of opportunities to work through normal distancing of adolescence as part of the natural

life course. To date the subject of absent fathers during this period has been neglected in terms of research.

Nearly half of those interviewed in this research claimed to have a bad relationship with their fathers following separation. Previous research indicates that young girls experience the emotional loss of their father egocentrically as a rejection of them (Kalter 1987). Whilst more common among preschool and primary school girls, this phenomenon has been observed clinically in junior school and young adolescent children (Kalter 1987). The continued lack of involvement of the father in daily life is experienced as an ongoing rejection by him. Many girls attribute this rejection to their not being pretty enough, affectionate enough, athletic enough, or smart enough to please the father and engage him in regular, frequent contacts. Lohr (1989) suggests that girls whose parents divorce may grow up without the day to day experience of interacting with a man who is attentive, caring and loving. The continuous sense of being valued and loved as a female seems an especially key element in the development of the conviction that one is indeed femininely lovable. Without this regular source of nourishment, a girl's sense of being valued as a female does not seem to thrive (Kalter 1987). It may be that these findings cannot be generalised to the evacuation and occupation research because it is possible that other variables which exist prior to parents divorcing did not exist prior to the evacuation separation. There was not, perhaps, the dysfunctional phase of the family breaking down, arguments, recriminations and animosity between the parents. These may be the cause of the findings of Lohr's (1989) and Kalter's (1987) research. The situation which led to the separation in this research was very different. However the absence of a father in the home due to separation would appear to have a significant effect on children and warrants further research.

The evacuation and occupation research suggests that in the cases where the interviewee reported good relationships with parents prior to the separation followed by good experiences with temporary caregivers they were much more likely to be successfully and happily reintegrated with parents after the separation and this was irrespective of age, sex and background. (Mead 1962; Kagen 1984). Continuity of care and a sense of security, stability and feeling wanted all appear to be important to a child's well being (Howe 1999; Aldgate 2005). Continued contact with parents and family was a strong predictor of a satisfactory reunification (Fernandez 1996). The ideal situation for maintaining a positive outcome in terms of the parent and child relationship is that the child remains with its parents even in difficult times. What became clear in this research was that reuniting parents and children after a long period of separation proved difficult for some but these difficulties could have been eased had there have been intensive support (Farmer & Parker 1991).

In Guernsey, prior to the Second World War, the family unit was not the restricted modern nuclear family but an extended family of sharing and caring. The island was such that many islanders were related either by blood or by marriage and all relations were considered important. Guernsey society and culture was based on an 'all inclusive' network of reciprocal obligations of giving and receiving, which in turn further reinforced the bonds of kinship and friendship (Rashid 1996; Woodhead et al 1998). Parenting roles, nurturing and socialising responsibilities were in some cases widely shared in Guernsey prior to the war, thus supporting the concept of multiple attachments (Howe 1999). Relatives, beyond the immediate family had nurturing responsibilities and emotional ties with children as they grew up. This diversity of care may have helped some to deal more effectively with the separation from

parents, the use of multiple mothering can provide a healthy continuity of care and a buffer against separation trauma, as described by Mead (1962). Kagan (1984) describes a nomadic tribe in Africa that believes the child is best served if nursed by someone other than its mother and later the child is cared for by different people in the tribe. The multiplicity of care which existed in some cases meant that when the children evacuated, people in addition to the biological parents were bereft of their role and purpose in connection with those children.

The diversity of outcomes or long term effects reported by the interviewees in this research suggests that many factors influenced the developing evacuated child (Jones & Ramchandani 1999). It is possible that poor outcomes in the cases of some children resulted not from the separation experience itself but rather the way in which the separation was carried out (without explanation to the child, in the middle of the night) Also the separation may have led to poorer quality child care because it set in motion a train of other adverse experiences (getting lice in prized hair, humiliation at not being chosen by potential foster carers, being sexually abused, feeling unwanted, being used as a care giver rather than a care receiver) or multiple foster placements with very mixed experiences. In some cases it was clear that foster parents were unable to establish an attachment bond with the child (Cassidy 1999) or understand the child's attachment relationships and respond to them on an individual basis (Aldgate 2005). The 1940s were a time of focus on discipline and hygiene; individuality, individual feelings and individual needs were not acknowledged as they are today. There are numerous examples throughout this research of foster parents being unable to provide a secure base and meet the child's physical and emotional needs (Solomon & George 1999; Howe 1999).

Other contributing factors to poor outcomes may relate to the age the child was when he/she was evacuated and fostered. Foster placements are more likely to prove difficult and breakdown the older the child is at the time of the placement. A child's age at placement is consistently associated with placement instability (Parker 1966).

Many of those who were fostered experienced multiple foster homes, research suggests that the greater the number of placements the more likelihood of a placement breakdown (Parker 1966). Furthermore changes in placement, for whatever reason, often necessitated a change in school which required the child to make new relationships both in placement and at school and further disrupted routines. Berridge & Cleaver (1987) stated that such changes especially if the result of rejection by the previous care-giver could be emotionally stressful and shatter a child's fragile trust in the permanence of adult relationships.

In this research some of the children were placed in homes where foster parents already had children of their own and of a similar age to that of the fostered child. In some cases relationships formed between the children that replicated those of siblings and these relationships survived not only the evacuation period but have continued to the present time or until one part of the relationship died. There were however also instances of the presence of same age children already in the home contributing to the breakdown of the placement (Parker 1966).

It is claimed that disrupted parenting in infancy or early childhood can render the person less secure and more vulnerable to adolescent and adult psychological and emotional disturbances (Terr 1991; Giardino, Everly Jr and Dusek 1997; Erikson

1968; Tortorici – Picado 1988; Garbarino and Kostelny 1993; Martin- Baro 1990; Spik and Wolf 1946; Lyons 1987; Van De Kolk 1987; McKendrick 1988; Foster 2000). A number of interviewees spoke of this effect; some had been diagnosed and treated for depression later in their lives (Coleman 1999; Hunt 1997; Davies 1997), which may or may not have been the result of separation from parents. Others had not been diagnosed with depression but referred to the impact the separation had on their lives. Some of these interviewees commented on the fact that they had felt unheard until this research. It may be that the depression in later life was a manifestation of suppressed emotions experienced during childhood. (Hunt 1997; Coleman 1999; Aldgate 2005).

The occupation evacuation research also revealed clear evidence, both positive and negative that changes in attachment environments did affect the child's perception about relationships and affected their self esteem (Butler et al 2003).

Furthermore there was evidence to support the notion that attachment experiences can be transferred down the generations (Berlin & Cassidy 1999). In a number of cases interviewees who had experienced disrupted relationships with their parents due to the evacuation, spoke of difficult relationships with parenting their own children. It could be claimed that the interviewees attachments did influence their behaviour toward their own child (Solomon & George 1999) and that continuities between attachment in childhood and adulthood may have existed.

Individuals with a secure attached style appear to be more protected from serious mental health problems when exposed to traumatic life experiences, while insecure people are more vulnerable. Attachment – specific emotional responses may partly

explain the differences between the life outcomes amongst the interviewees in this research.

According to attachment theory, the childhood interactions with a caregiver form the underlying mechanisms for unique emotional and cognitive processing in adulthood. In attachment terms this means that children learn to deal with and make use of affective and cognitive information from their surroundings (Crittenden 1994). Children differ in their ability and willingness to explore the environment and to rely on caregivers when feeling threatened. These differences are explained by three different attachment styles: the secure; the insecure-dismissing and the insecure – preoccupied.

When caregivers respond to the infants' reflexive, conditioned and affective behaviour in sensitive and comforting ways, children learn to predict and interpret other peoples' behaviour (Stern 1991). This provides conditions for secure attachment characterised by the ability to combine both affective and cognitive information and benefit from both. Consequently, children who are secure remain relatively organised in stressful situations (Fonagy et al 1996). In adulthood secure individuals have access to both negative and positive memories and are capable of integrating affective and cognitive processes and using them in a balanced way (Crittenden 1997).

When the child's behaviour and signals result in the caregivers' misinterpretation and rejection, they learn to over regulate their affect and steer away from situations that are likely to be emotionally arousing (Crittenden 1995). Such insecure-dismissing children have to learn to inhibit negative affect and signs of dependency that the

caregivers do not tolerate. Consequently they do not learn to communicate how they feel but look for caregiver acceptance through falsified positive affect that caregivers approve of. In other words, insecure –dismissing individuals have learned to distrust emotions and their early emotional schema becomes separated from verbalised semantic knowledge (Liotti 1995). This research revealed evidence of this in a number of interviewees. In adulthood insecure –dismissing individuals are expected to emphasise cognitive processing and avoid awareness and expression of affects (Crittenden 1997).

Insecure-preoccupied individuals have often experienced inconsistent caregivers who can be comforting at one moment but neglecting the next. This inconsistency evokes anxiety and children experience difficulty in regulating their emotions. They learn to heighten the expression of their emotions in order to gain the response they require from the caregiver (Crittenden 1995). In other words, insecure-preoccupied individuals have learned to distrust cognitive information and their segregated emotional schema becomes unrelated to the attributional processes of causality and semantic meaning (Liotti 1995). In adulthood insecure – preoccupied individuals show predominantly affective responses and tend to minimise cognitive processing and framing of their experiences (Crittenden 1997).

Attachment behaviour is assumed to be activated, as previously stated, in dangerous and threatening situations (Bowlby 1973; Crittenden 1997). The activation of attachment- specific responses to trauma may explain why some individuals deactivate and others over-activate their distress.

Both secure and insecure-preoccupied individuals have easy access to negative memories but they differ in the regulation of their negative affect. Secure individuals cope better with negative emotions whereas, insecure – preoccupied individuals are unable to control their intense negative feelings. As children they are unable to console themselves and as adults they are unable to frame cognitively their emotions. Insecure- dismissing individuals have low access to negative memories and tend to repress negative and positive emotions (Mikulincer & Orbach 1995). In other words among insecure-dismissing trauma victims the emotional response is biased towards cognitive, rational and deactivated emotional responses, whereas in insecure – preoccupied victims the emotional response is biased towards intense emotionality and over – activated emotional responses when faced with trauma. This may help to explain the diversity of narration of experiences in this research.

However, despite all this there were also numerous examples of resilience in the child (Rutter 1985) and despite their less than favourable experiences many went on to enjoy positive future attachments and careers. This may be evidence that children are not only passive to experiences but that they act on the world and through their own behaviour change outcomes and moderate influences (Schaffer 1992).

Summary

With regard to research questions 1, 2 and 3 it would appear that the trauma of separation due to the evacuation and occupation did have a negative effect on some interviewees' lives and in some cases this was long term. In others there was a negative effect on the relationship that was not permanent, other interviewees reported no effect at all.

This research suggests separation from the mother may not prove to be as detrimental as previous research would suggest. However the absence of a father appears to be significant and separation from the father can lead to an irretrievable breakdown in the father and child relationship. Although not part of the remit of this research this finding may be worthy of greater consideration and future research in the light of an increase in one parent families and the tendency to award custody of children to the mother with access to the father (Simpson et al 1995).

The findings also revealed that a competent and resourceful carer could help to provide a buffer against the trauma of separation. In order to promote their resilience children need warmth, love, empathy, security and a sense of belonging (Terr 1991; Ainsworth 1974; Rutter 1985; Aldgate 2005). Nurturance appears in this research to involve providing attentive and loving care; empathy is the feeling that the caregivers understand and are trying to alleviate painful memories; security is having the stability of predictable routines and a sense of belonging. These needs could be and often were provided for by surrogate mothers.

Sibling Relationships

In the past it was assumed that parent-child relationships sowed the seeds of adult behaviour but there is a growing awareness that the interplay between siblings also exerts a powerful life force (Azmitia & Hesser 1993). The sibling relationship has been neglected in social science especially in adulthood and very little research took place in this area until the 1980s (Boer and Dunn 1992).

Today there is an increasing number of brothers and sisters who will experience separation, often due to parental separation. For most this means losing the only

significant relationship they have known. The bond between brothers and sisters is unique, it is the longest lasting relationship most people have (Banks and Kahn 1997). Whilst the bond may wax and wane, a person's life- time quest for personal identity is undeniably interwoven with his or her siblings.

In the evacuation and occupation research the majority of interviewees claimed to have good relationships with their siblings up to the point when they were separated, after the liberation, conflict frequently ensued. It should not be assumed that all sibling conflict is detrimental; moderate amounts of sibling conflict can play a beneficial role in social interactions with peers. Conflict between siblings is common and coexists with periods of positive sibling interactions and with periods of relative calm (Newman 1994). The important factor is the level of conflict balanced with the level of warmth or support in relationships between siblings that seems to determine the effect sibling conflict has on children. Home environments where siblings experience moderate levels of conflict along with moderate levels of warmth and support may help children develop important social skills and skills of conflict negotiation (Stormshak et al 1996; Stoneman et al 1998). It may be that siblings serve as a bridge to effective peer relationships, allowing siblings to hone skills of social competence that they can then use throughout their lives (Bigelow et al 1996). However in this research in a number of cases, following separation the situation was less about conflict and more about indifference, feelings of having nothing in common and now being strangers and this clearly proved destructive to the point of no return to many sibling bonds for Islanders.

This research suggests the interplay between siblings exerts a powerful lifelong force, and in the absence of parents some of the siblings in this research learned to

depend upon each other. What is more this research found that loss due to separation may impact down the years and once disturbed it was difficult to rebuild the sibling relationship.

Sibling separation may result in siblings becoming vulnerable to future stresses and this may lead to a pessimistic style of thinking (Gold 1988). Many examples of depression and psychiatric treatment in adult life were evident in this research where interviewees were evacuated and separated from siblings who remained with parents. It is possible that in the situation where siblings remain with the parent and another child is separated from the family this separation is perceived by the separated child as preferential treatment (Hetherington 1988). Differential parenting interpreted as preferential treatment leads to sibling rivalry and aggression and sibling avoidance is more intense (Boer and Dunn 1992). This appears to have occurred in this research. Research suggests parental favouritism breeds sibling hostility (Hetherington 1988). This research suggests that perceived parental favouritism may have contributed to the breakdown of some sibling relationships.

Adolescence is a critical period in a child's life for the reorganisation and development of the sibling relationship (Cicirelli 1995). Many of those interviewed left the island as children but returned to their parents and siblings as adolescents and experienced non supportive relationships with siblings due to the separation. Patterns of non supportive behaviour create a negative relationship for both parties (Grynoch and Fincham 1990).

Sibling relationships are embedded in the family and influenced by parenting behaviours (Boer and Dunn 1992; Stoneman and Brody 1998). Although a number of

interviewees reported negative relationships with siblings some reported close positive relationships. Two theories attempt to explain why some sibling relationships continue through life. Firstly we are taught by parents to be loving towards siblings; secondly attachment. When separated from either siblings or siblings and parents it is not possible to learn the lessons parents might otherwise teach and as attachment relies on the ability to bond with another and this requires a closeness it is clear that this is not possible in periods of separation (White and Reidmann 1992). One or both of these factors may account for the negative relationships experienced by some of the interviewees.

Cumming and Henry (1961) found that older people with living siblings with whom they have close relationships have higher morale and are less likely to experience emotional and /or physical illnesses – their resistance and immune systems appear stronger. Gold (1988) carried out research which demonstrated that good relationships with siblings can affect the individual's physical and emotional well being. Gold also suggested that the greatest contact is between sisters; eldest children; brothers and sisters; those who live in close proximity to each other, those on high incomes; the well educated and situations where one sibling remains living with parents. The well being of older people and greater life satisfaction appears to be related to the availability of a close relationship of a sister (McGhee 1985). The amount of support siblings give each other is related to their childhood and adolescent relationships (Goetting 1986). All those who reported being diagnosed in later life with depression had been separated from siblings and experienced difficult relationships with siblings after the Liberation. Ryff and Singer (1998; 2000) also suggest that one's psychological and physical well being is related to the relationships one has.

Lack of shared background, different educational opportunities and consequently life opportunities accentuated the conflict between siblings and may have resulted in infrequent contact between them, research has suggested that frequency of contact diminishes with age (White and Reidmann 1992). However, Cicirelli (1995) suggested the contrary was true and that sibling rivalry decreases and closeness increases with age. Clearly there is little consensus on this issue and perhaps other factors may need to be considered.

Loss of siblings may affect self esteem because of the lost role of taking care of younger siblings, loss of a constant in life, possibly a confidante or best friend, loss of a source of sharing, advice or approval. The result may be the inability to trust and form lasting relationships as adults because the people they had trusted had left them (Bigelow 1996).

Summary

An interesting finding which relates to research question 2 regarding the role of competent and resourceful carers was that some siblings, always female, adopted the maternal role and became surrogate mothers to their siblings. In these cases the role was accepted and responded to by the nurtured siblings, suggesting again, as in the previous section on parent and child relationships, that access to material possessions and resources is less important than emotional support, feelings of belonging and being cared for, to the well being of the child (Garbarino et al 1992; Ainsworth 1974; Harlow & Harlow 1971). No claims were made that brothers adopted a paternal role.

With regard to research questions 1 and 3, the outcomes of this research suggest that the sibling relationship is one of the most significant and yet easily damaged of all

family relationships. Whilst the parent child relationship is retrievable in most cases despite a long period of separation, the same cannot be said for the sibling relationship. Separation of siblings frequently leads to an irretrievable breakdown in the relationship.

Furthermore there was evidence of difficulties in family relationships and family dynamics following the liberation but in most cases these were resolved in the parent child relationship. Expressions of tensions and emotions over unresolved issues relating to family members and the situations they found themselves in were evident in many of the interviews. Without exception all the narratives revealed the complexity of the multiple relationships that existed then and continue to exist now even though in most cases one member of the relationship is now deceased.

Relationships between the Occupied and the Evacuated

This section of the chapter relates to research question 4: why, after the Liberation, was there conflict between those who were evacuated and those who were occupied?

There is little doubt that following the liberation and the return of those who were evacuated there was conflict between those who left the island and those who stayed. It would appear that the underlying cause for this conflict was a sense of loss: loss of shared values and beliefs; loss of self esteem; loss of land entitlement; loss of community support; loss of educational opportunities and therefore life opportunities, and loss of established lifestyle. This sense of loss was experienced by many not just once but twice in five years. Firstly at the time of the evacuation and occupation and then by both the evacuees in the U.K. and the occupied who remained on the Island, following the Liberation. Evacuees in the U.K. had to uproot

again and leave families, friends, jobs and lifestyles to return to the Island, or if they had remained they had to adjust to the independence freedom brought with it and reacquaint themselves with returning family and friends and what they brought with them. Loss and grief are intrinsic parts of life experience, and by the time they reach late life people are normally equipped to handle them (Coleman & Mills 1997). However, for some individuals in this research, finding coping strategies to deal with their losses has proved difficult.

As I outlined in the findings the areas of loss which had been identified on the basis of the analysis of the findings, it seems appropriate and logical to follow these losses in this section and so each loss will be discussed under the appropriate sub heading.

Loss of shared values and beliefs.

Marie De Garis is a Guernsey woman who has long defended the traditions and culture of the Island. She was a regular contributor to BBC local radio and in an attempt to keep alive Guernsey Patois read the local news once a week in Patois on the radio. She is the author of a dictionary of Guernsey patois. She states in her book that the Second World War was a watershed between the old Guernsey way of life and the present time (De Garis 1996)

The evacuation contributed to a dilution of the Island's culture. Culture provides for the social glue that binds people together. Culture determines beliefs, values, language, stories, knowledge and social institutions. When society enjoys unbroken continuity of culture the individuals absorb the culture, internalise it and live by it (Giddens 1991). A confidence in expectations for behaviour develops. Culture

provides the individuals with a sense of who they are and where they belong, it is usually rooted in a place, leaving that place undermines the value and influence of the culture (Geertz 1973) and this clearly happened to Guernsey.

A loss of sense of identity coupled with loss of contact with one's culture may lead to depression in later life (McKendrick 1988). There is no doubt that those who were children at the time of the evacuation did experience a loss of contact with the Island's culture and it is interesting that many interviewees claim to have experienced periods of diagnosed depression for which they have been treated by their doctors or a psychiatric unit.

Loss of Self Esteem

Having been part of a close knit- community where one could trace one's family history back, often several generations and where one knew one belonged, some of the evacuees felt that on arriving in the U.K. they were second class citizens, referred to as 'refugees', a label that clearly had negative connotations for the evacuees as it was viewed as insulting. To some Islanders, the term refugee implied living off the State, being financially supported by the Government. Possibly the Islands independent state in terms of its constitutional relationship with the United Kingdom accentuated the feeling of not belonging to the U.K. (see chapter 3).

For some evacuees the treatment they received, such as being told that evacuees were not accepted at certain schools, made them question their worthiness and heritage. Many claimed to have felt degraded and shamed because they were stripped naked and scrubbed in tin baths in front of other children and adults, they were then lined

up, inspected and selected by potential foster parents. More than one interviewee referred to the process as being part of a 'cattle market'.

Those who remained on the island also had issues over self esteem, especially the teenage males who, when they compared themselves to the returning evacuees found they were smaller and slighter in build than their peers and unable to compete in gaining the attention of teenage girls (*MOH Report 1900-1997*).

Loss of Community Support

Perhaps the first signs of a breakdown in community was evident at the time of the evacuation. The evacuation was not well planned and many islanders responded to the evacuation on the basis of panic. Whilst some felt the only action they could take to ensure their families' safety was to evacuate others perceived this as running away and the response of a coward.

After the liberation there was a climate of suspicion and blame with each group, the evacuated and the occupied, at times required to justify their behaviour. Evacuees were considered by some to be cowards whilst occupied people were accused by some of being collaborators who worked for the Germans (Bunting 1995; Pascal 2002). There were recriminations over those who had formed relationships with Germans. It would be naïve to suggest these elements were not part of this period but human nature is not black and white and to categorise people as traitors and collaborators or patriotic defiant heroes is oversimplifying a complex situation. It is important to acknowledge influencing variables such as self preservation, conformity and defiance and the value each individual attached to these qualities and the

expectancy of the desired outcomes in order to appreciate the behaviour of the Islanders.

Islanders were divided by their accents, physical build and lack of shared experiences. One interviewee who had been occupied spoke of the evacuees as follows: “I could never again view them as one of us”.

Loss of Educational Opportunities.

For some the evacuation and occupation meant an end to their education. Low numbers of children in certain age groups (thirteen plus years) and the need for Germans to commandeer schools as stores, meant that there was little effort made to provide schooling for some children (Cruickshank 1991; Bihet 1985). Others who were occupied found the venue for school varied on a regular basis and purpose built schools were replaced with the use of tea rooms, church halls that were curtained off as different classrooms or people’s houses. For those who were evacuated the financial problems of parents or extended family or foster parents meant the children had to miss out on attending Grammar Schools in the U.K. or they had to leave school to work to help support themselves. A number of interviewees who were fortunate enough to have the opportunity to continue their education found that the disruptions of war led to disruptions in the classroom and they blamed this for their lack of qualifications, available career choices and consequently life opportunities (Berwick Sayers 1949).

After the war returning teachers and students brought with them new subjects and methods of teaching which meant those who remained on the Island felt disadvantaged and forced to adapt to accommodate new subjects and teaching

methods. For some the introduction of new subjects and teaching methods coincided with crucial exam periods.

Class sizes had been very small during the occupation but following the liberation class sizes returned to more normal levels for that period of time. For those educated in the U.K. for five years this would have been acceptable, as they had been used to overcrowded schools, but for the occupied these new class and school sizes required a great deal of adjustment and some felt lost and alienated. Their teachers went back into retirement or back to their pre- occupation activities. Those who had been occupied therefore had to adjust to new class sizes, new school sizes, new teachers, new curricula, subjects and methods of teaching, all this provided potential grounds for conflict. Of significance to this research is the fact that both groups felt disadvantaged suggesting that neither group could relate to the other's loss or situation. Furthermore disadvantages due to loss of educational opportunities impact upon life outcomes in that they can affect career opportunities and consequently lifestyle (Aldgate 1990). Lifestyle in turn impacts on health (Winslow 1951; Jessor et al 1998).

Loss of Established Life Style

For many returning evacuees life after the war was an anticlimax. Their lives in the U.K. had been materially comfortable compared with life on the Island. Many had settled into new homes and jobs, they had established friendships and enjoyed social lives, they had a replacement life for the one they left behind at the time of the evacuation. When they returned to the Island, they had less than they had before they evacuated. In some cases their homes had been taken over by the Germans and left in a poor state requiring total refurbishment. Shops were boarded up, beaches were

mined, job opportunities were extremely limited and there were few social activities to engage in. Possessions left in many abandoned homes had been rounded up and placed in storage. These items were not labelled as belonging to anyone (Cruickshank 1991).

On their return evacuees could go to the warehouses to reclaim their possessions, if they could find them and if other Islanders had not already made claim to them. It proved impossible in the chaos and panic of the evacuation for the Island authorities to have organised the collection and labelling of each family's possessions, there was no time and no human resources to deal with abandoned homes and possessions, and there were no data to identify who would be staying and who would be leaving the Island. Those who registered to leave did not always do so. During the occupation many of the Islanders' homes and possessions were requisitioned by the Germans. One could not expect to walk back into the home one had left and find it untouched. Consequently, as home furnishings were not high on the list of shipping priorities after the liberation, returning Islanders had to set up their homes with whatever they could find.

The evacuees had then, left their established homes and lives in 1940 and had to establish a new life in the U.K., they then had to leave their new lives and possessions five years later to return to Guernsey, again with nothing, to start yet another new life. This situation must have led to considerable frustration especially when they were confronted with some occupied Islanders who had fared better than they had, or who still had their homes intact. Again a potential source of conflict between the two groups.

Summary

Both occupied and evacuated islanders claim to have experienced loss and this research found that both groups considered themselves to be disadvantaged compared with the opposite group. Neither appeared to find it easy to relate to the other's situation. It is my belief that these perceived feelings of loss account for the conflict which was found to exist between the evacuated and occupied following the end of the war.

Relationships Between The Germans and the Occupied

Question 5 asked: why did some people form relationships with the enemy whilst others did not?

Perhaps the latter part of the question is easier to answer than the first. Some Islanders had negative experiences with Germans even before they arrived to occupy the Island, they or family members had encountered them in the First World War. Interviewees told of parents, uncles and grandfathers who had been gassed in the first war and who never really recovered. One interviewee explained how although she evacuated, her parents did not and her father destroyed all the photographs he had of him in military uniform from the First World War for fear that the Germans would find them and send him to a camp in Germany. Another occupied interviewee explained how the newly built family home had been taken over by the Germans and they were not allowed to retrieve any of their possessions. He told of how his bedroom was used to kill animals and salt and hang them, something he still finds abhorrent. The garage became a cook- house for soldiers. A further reason for not associating with the enemy was seeing or hearing that one's family had been attacked by them. Although it must be said that several interviewees told of situations where

uncles and aunts had been killed or maimed by the initial bombing of the harbour by the German air-force and fathers who had been injured during the occupation period yet the families still associated with the Germans. Possibly a strong sense of patriotism or indignity that the Island had been occupied and peacetime freedom curtailed, although these were not overtly evident in the findings, may have also have played their part.

Why local people formed relationships with their German enemies is more difficult to answer. Possible explanations are complex but from the research findings three factors appear to dominate; firstly, relationships were formed for reward and this was a reciprocal arrangement. The reward took a variety of forms, food, companionship and survival being the main ones. There is little doubt that the two groups – occupied and occupiers were interdependent upon each other to achieve their aims and objectives, which may have changed as the war progressed (Cruickshank 1991)

Secondly Islanders differentiated between two different types of Germans, the ones they came into day to day contact with whom they referred to as “ordinary Germans” who they believed no more wanted to be here than Guernsey people wanted them to be here and the “officers” or “Nazis” also referred to as “the Gestapo” who looked after the labour force, these were part of operation Todt and were considered cruel. Although Islanders saw the activities of the Todt officers, usually from a distance because they worked on what was considered sensitive fortification sites, they did not feel they came into day to day contact with them.

The third reason for associating with “the enemy” appears to have resulted from feelings of empathy. As the occupation progressed, the soldiers became more

demoralised and were subjected to the same restrictions as those they were occupying; both groups were isolated on an Island they could not leave, both were separated from families, both were subjected to diminishing rations and food restrictions (Cruickshank 1991), consequently as the result of living in close proximity and sharing common living conditions empathy was born and possibly in some cases mutual understanding.

In virtually all the accounts from those who were occupied it would appear that the description of the Germans who lived alongside the Islanders is very different to that of those who describe the Germans in other parts of occupied Europe (Hirschfeld 1988). One can only speculate at the reasons why this might be. Reference has already been made to the close proximity of living circumstances. Possibly a further explanation is that the Channel Islands were viewed as part of the U.K. and the Germans wished to portray a benevolent image ready for when they occupied England. Possibly they believed that a benevolent approach might lead to greater acceptance and less resistance from England, when the invasion had been achieved (Cruickshank 1991). Because Islanders distinguished between two distinct types of German soldiers who were based on the Island, it is possible that those referred to as “ordinary soldiers” lacked the commitment to the cause that the Gestapo had and this was reflected in their treatment of Islanders. Possibly lack of organised resistance played its part. It is likely that there is no one reason for the difference between the Channel Islands and the rest of Europe. In fact by making such claims Islanders are leaving themselves vulnerable to further allegations of collaboration. It would therefore be more sensible to claim they were forced into behaving in certain ways rather than admit that they formed relationships and in many cases liked the Germans

and in at least two cases tried to maintain contact with the occupiers after the Liberation. It is interesting that on the whole they chose a different narrative.

Summary

The findings of this research suggest that for many occupied people, fear and stereotypical images were replaced by empathy, and changes in attitudes.

Furthermore, it would appear that grounds were established upon which both parties learned to exist and co-operate.

Memory, Narrative and Change

The sixth research question in this thesis relates to memory, narrative and change and asks: Is collective memory regarding the evacuation and occupation period permanently defined and fixed or are social and economic changes the catalysts for a new interpretation of public memory?

Since the end of the Second World War and the occupation of Guernsey the ‘master narrative’ which structures collective memory (Zerubavel 1995) has been constructed by a wide range of formal and informal cultural and media expressions. The institutionalisation of memory in cultural forms and social practices (Schudson 1992) such as Liberation Day services, activities and parades and Charybidis¹ services have been employed to affirm a value system (Schils 1975) for the island.

¹ Charybidis – an English naval ship which sank off the west coast of Guernsey in 1942. All those lost were buried with full military honours in the Foulon Cemetery with the agreement of the German occupying force. Islanders attended in their hundreds and a service to commemorate the loss is held at the Foulon annually

Education and the media have been mobilised to ensure the remembrance of the island's past and the transmission of memories from one generation to the next. Sites of memory and plaques have been erected as reminders of the past. These symbols are instrumental to a consensual notion about the past and its meaning to Islanders.

A public holiday (May 9th Liberation Day), unique to the Islands, along with organised events for the day, attempts to create a shared network of practices around which common memories are rehearsed and reinforced and in so doing the society is drawn together by its common and united understanding of what it means to have been evacuated, occupied and liberated (Halbwachs 1992).

Memory of this unique period in the islands has been heavily promoted through cultural media, television programmes, radio interviews, personal recollections in the form of informal autobiographies and symbolic memorialisation. Memory is a discursive artefact, and has been socially contrived and rooted in the cultural traditions of the island (Gergen 1994).

All the above encourages the continuity of a collective memory and an 'official story' about the period. It is interesting therefore, that this research revealed that individual stories do not always support the 'official story' and instead offer an added dimension to the history.

There may be many factors which could account for the alternative narratives. For example, a radical change in the social and political order (Nora 1989); due to changes in the social structure of the Island (Nora 1989); as the result of the medias influence (Lowenthal 1985; Schwartz 1991); as a reconciling or healing activity

(Coleman 1999) or coping mechanism (Hunt 1997); as a desire to change perceptions of ourselves and the past (Giddens 1991; Taylor 1996); due to a previous culture of silence; perhaps an attempt to redefine the island who it is and how it relates to other societies; or because different social groups, and in this case age groups, remember a life experience differently; also, memory is subjective and interprets rather than accurately relates experiences therefore one should expect a range of realities (Portelli 1991).

Nora (1989) suggests that new political and economic structures frequently result in a need to restructure or revise the authorised history of a country. Guernsey has not experienced an obvious radical change in its social and political order and yet change has occurred. The economy is no longer grounded in tourism and horticulture, it is now firmly rooted in finance.

Tourism, as explained in the social context chapter (Chapter 3), was for many years Guernsey's staple industry. The island's economy was based on the success of the ability to encourage visitors to the island. One marketing strategy that was successful for many years was the selling of the uniqueness of a part of Britain occupied by the Germans (*Billet d'Etat* 1947-1977). However, in recent years emphasis has changed to a relationship of reconciliation and co-operation with the Germans and so the island is now marketed on the basis that it is an unspoilt and natural environment, although it must be said that tourism is a dying industry in the island. The main industry on which the economy is heavily reliant today is finance, with Guernsey receiving an international award for being the best finance centre in the world (Marr 2001). Clearly to achieve this, harmonious relationships with Europe are important.

Although not a member of the European Union, the islands are indirectly subjected to the directives of the European Union in terms of their financial activities and credibility. Guernsey has a special relationship with the European Community, which is set out in Protocol 3 to the Treaty of Accession of the UK to the European Community, which permits free movement of goods in trade between the islands and the Community as regards both industrial and agricultural products but essentially excludes the islands from all other aspects of the Treaty of Rome and in particular allows it to retain its fiscal autonomy without the requirement of harmonisation with the E.U. common policies. Finance is by far the largest sector in the island contributing 55 per cent of the total income in the economy. Tourism, manufacturing and horticulture have been and continue to decline.

The evolving economic integration of the E.U. nations is without doubt changing the rules of the financial game under which Guernsey operates. In order to retain the balanced economy which Guernsey enjoys and a healthy balance of payments surplus with no external debt, it is important for the States of Guernsey to continue to pursue a policy to promote the offshore finance industry with a view to attracting quality international business. The States policies will undoubtedly ensure that Guernsey retains its status as a politically and economically stable and sophisticated finance centre and to this end it would be expected that policies would work to create favourable and harmonious relationships with Europe including Germany and the rest of the world. It is possible that this level of change could result in the need to reconstruct the past.

Nora (1989) also suggests that social change can lead to a revision of a country's history. Guernsey is no longer the pre-war collectivistic society it once was. The

population of the Island has changed radically with greater freedom of movement into the island of non local people. Consequently the strong social networks which once existed have been weakened in favour of a more individualistic society. This new community of non local people have little or no historical capital invested in the island (Nora 1989) and the fact that a new generation of islanders out numbers those who experienced this period of history may have allowed a climate of greater freedom of speech to develop in terms of the past. According to Bodnar (1992) public memory is manipulated to fit in with political and social changes. Alonso (1988) stated social memory is the result of a direct struggle for power by the dominating social group who it could be argued is now the generation of those who were children during that period.

Lipsitz (1990) claims the media can create a fictional past which can be internalised by individuals and later emerge as collective memories. The influence of the media in creating collective memories of a shared past should be borne in mind in relation to the occupation and evacuation, for through it, beliefs about ourselves as a collective society, about our past and future have to some degree been established and these beliefs in turn have helped in evolving the island's identity and provided for unity and to date a collective memory of the period (Lowenthal 1985; Schwartz 1991). However, based on the findings of this research new collective memories may be about to challenge, but at this stage, not entirely replace old ones. (Hoffman & Hoffman 1991; Hamilton 1994).

Due to the nature of this research and the period of history being investigated the interviewees were all in the latter parts of their lives. All were retired and probably, for the first time in many years, had time to reflect on their lives and experiences and

perhaps the meaning of their lives. Self esteem during ones working life often comes from one's occupational role or perhaps through one's position or role within the family. In later life reminiscing can also provide for self esteem and help to define one's identity (McMahon & Rhudick 1964). The opportunity to relate one's life experiences can provide healing and reconciling functions (Coleman 1999).

The process of oral recall is an intense and emotional experience. A number of interviewees were reduced to tears when recalling parts of their stories (Bristow 1997). As the spoken voice is less selective than the written this effects the perception and interpretation of the recollection. It may have also led to greater revelations about the experience.

As well as oral storytelling, personal memory writing in the form of autobiographies, diaries and life histories have also increased in popularity. Most of the literature relating to this period of island history is the result of the needs of those who experienced that time to record their experiences. Bristow, a psychotherapist, states that "telling and living a story are not that different" (Bristow 1997 p18).

Whether oral or written, the story told and how it is told is significant in that it reflects how we perceive ourselves and how we are perceived by others. This could offer an explanation for the variety of alternative stories which emerged in this research. Stories incorporate values which although may start out as personal experiences may become adopted by the wider community (Bormann 1972). This given the present social, economic and political climate may explain why it is only now the time is ripe for stories which support reconciliation. It is possible that the stories which may have been told immediately after the evacuation and occupation

no longer serve the purpose necessary for today's climate of reconciliation (Giddens 1991; Taylor 1996;). Memory is socially designated, it permits acceptance of the individual into the community (Gergen 1994). Individuals construct memories of the past to serve their present needs (Geertz 1973; Halbwachs 1992).

One of the results of this research into the evacuation and occupation experience has been the suggestion that a culture of silence over sensitive issues developed. Silence, misinformation and the so-called "Official story", which if repeated enough becomes internalised as the "truth", are often the hallmark of past repressive societies. The fact that this research has revealed alternative narratives implies that in the past individuals were reluctant to speak honestly for fear of reprisals and exclusion. This is particularly true in terms of relationships between the occupiers and the occupied and also the conflict which clearly existed between some of those who were evacuated and some of those who were occupied. Both have been evidenced in this study but perhaps on a more personal level.

Both evacuees and occupied relate stories of stoicism and resilience as perhaps one might expect. Interestingly the German occupiers were frequently described by those they occupied in positive terms (disciplined, kind, friendly) thus providing the grounds for the relationships which developed between some Islanders and their occupiers. The reconstructed narratives often supported the present rather than the past as they were told in the context of the present economic, political and social climate (Geertz 1973; Lewis 1975; Bodnar 1992; Halbwachs 1992).

Any or perhaps a combination of the above may account for why the narratives which have emerged in this research are different to the prevailing narrative.

Changes in the island's economic base and the need to maintain harmonious relationships with Europe may have influenced the narrative. Furthermore, narratives are selective, subjective and defensive and collective memory, because it is grounded in social interaction reflects moral values (Nelson 1997). Memories and consequently narratives are moulded to fit expectations and acceptable beliefs, both our own and those of society at any given time (McAdams 1993). Perhaps there is no such thing as a generalisable objective truth, just a personal truth and a negotiated group truth (Long 1986). This research is less concerned with objective truth than it is with personal truth and perceived experience.

Summary

It would appear in this research that the memory has found a voice in new realities of political and social compromise and change and a newly born need for reconciliation and understanding. This research supports this notion with regard to the island's changing economy and the climate required to ensure its continued success. The original memories have not faded into oblivion and they continue to provide a framework of tradition, culture, identity and until recently economic support.

Previous studies of Guernsey and of separation and childhood experiences have not taken into account the contribution of memories or a more reflexive approach to the past hence the use of life history in this thesis.

In this thesis the voices of the children have been heard through their recounting memories. They have nothing to gain politically and at the time were too young to be accountable for their actions. They are the peripheral voices but their stories may offer another dimension to history.

Chapter 11

CONCLUSION

This research attempts to integrate narrative psychology and history, using oral history as the vehicle for the data collection supported by secondary source information, so it would be appropriate to review what was learned from these applications.

The psychological perspective provided an insight into understanding the significance of the way in which the narratives were constructed and the significance of the role of story telling in creating history. A cognitive perspective attempts to predict the behaviour of others, it also emphasises the need for control over our environment. This control always depends upon internal cognitive processes and in turn can lead to emotional well being. Social cognition then presumes that individuals will attempt to predict the behaviour of others and then exert control over them. Story telling may provide opportunities to achieve this. Psychoanalysis states that individuals are made up of the stories they carry in their heads. In psychoanalysis it is important for the individual to have a central role in the story, again providing them with control to manipulate or choose outcomes which may change events and this may have been evidenced in this research and account for the alternative to the dominant narrative or official story.

The ethnogenic approach sees the individual's identity as constructed by the perceptions of others. The individual exists in a world of conversation or language. Language is the basis of narrative and the story. So, for an individual to have an identity they need to have a story and be part of the conversation. This rather assumes that our identity only exists in the presence of others. The audience interprets the individual's narrative in accordance with the values they hold and from this the individual's identity emerges.

If the occupation and evacuation stories are to be interpreted in relation to personality theory, then the individual is fixed by traits and this implies that stories would also be fixed according to the roles adopted by the story-teller, this would imply that social and political changes over the past fifty years would have less impact upon the stories told.

Narrative can be incorporated into constructionism. This means that the individual's identity is the product of public discourse (Rosenwald and Ochsberg 1992). Life stories shape events and determine who the individual is. McAdams (1988) believes that the early developmental schemas of childhood are critical to the structure of individual narratives which in turn allows the individual's identity to evolve. Giddens (1991), saw the individual's narrative being influenced by both micro and macro aspects of society. In other words the individual's story must be understood in relation to the social economic, political and cultural aspects of the time and will be changed over time by these same aspects in combination with the individual's internal sense of self and identity. The implications for this research are that narratives shared by the subjects may over time have been influenced on a more macro level by social influences and changes in attitudes and also by their life course

stage. For Giddens (1991) and Lipsitz (1990) the mass media plays an important role in this. There is little doubt that the media has played a central role in nurturing the Guernsey story.

Whilst it is important to understand the context of the period being researched, hence the detailed chapter of life in Guernsey pre, during and post occupation, it is also important to acknowledge that other variables play their part in negotiating a shared narrative. One such variable that was significant to this research is memory.

A tension exists between history and memory in that history is often considered (in layman's terms) to be a permanent record of something fixed in time. Memory on the other hand, as discussed in earlier chapters, is not fixed and can be vague and changing and as Thompson showed much of history is dependent upon memory (Thompson 2000). Memory is considered imperfect but never the less central to our identity and consequently sense of well being. This research has revealed contradictions between the official documented history and the research findings. It would appear that this research supports the notion that there exist two types of history and two types of memory, the personal and the collective (Thompson 2000).

In this research the interviewees, who were children at the time of the Second World War, have reported memories that have emerged as an alternative to those of the previous generation. The collective narrative of the previous generation recorded a period of hostility and resentment towards the occupying enemy and an occupied people who were stoic. The new narrative that has emerged from this research appears to be recording a period of hardship for both the occupied and the occupiers and a period of co-operation and empathy. The official narrative has not disappeared

because it provides a framework of tradition, culture, identity and until recently economic support via tourism. As previously stated, new collective memories are challenging but not entirely replacing old ones. According to Schwartz (1996b) the past is always a compound of persistence and change, of continuity and newness.

It would appear then, that history involves continuity and change. Continuity provides for social cohesion, identity and solidarity but change reflects society's needs, fears, mentality and aspirations. Social change brings about new social and symbolic structures without the need to replace the old ones.

At the start of this thesis I outlined the island's history in considerable detail, the reason for this is that until stories are placed in the context of culture and history they are without meaning. It is my belief that the stories told have provided an insight into how individuals have been included, excluded, manipulated and even motivated, this may be a cyclical process as the motivation may lead to the renegotiation of the stories through time, in other words a hermeneutic cycle is in motion.

I believe that this research has expanded and enriched the story of the occupation and evacuation because it has provided a voice for those who were children at the time to tell their story. It has also become clear that the history has, if not been transformed, at least been touched by political, economic and social change. The official narrative provided for a unified approach, however, using oral history this research reveals a less unified story. The alternative narratives which have emerged during this research have challenged the assumptions held about the existing dominant story and may provide support for reconciliation.

With regard to the research questions, which evolved from this study, analysis of the findings suggest that these questions cannot be answered in a simplistic way and that further research would be appropriate in order to place the Guernsey experience in the wider context of an international response.

However, this research would suggest that family relationships and dynamics were effected following the separation experience, with father and child and sibling relationships experiencing the most damage. Long- term separation can have a negative effect on the parent and child relationship but this is not always the case and may not necessarily be long term particularly in the case of the mother child relationship. Separation does not improve an already difficult relationship. The best conditions for a positive outcome in terms of relationships and positive well being for the child, would appear to include a good relationship with both parents, the child perceives both parents as supportive and continuity of care by parents is maintained even in situations of considerable uncertainty and possibly limited resources.

This research would suggest that long-term separation does have a detrimental effective on the sibling relationship and that once damaged the relationship is difficult to retrieve. Obviously numerous factors may be involved in this process and therefore much more extensive research would be appropriate to identify which factors are significant and how they can be best manipulated to ensure the most positive outcome for the child.

The presence of a competent and resourceful substitute mother did provide a buffer against trauma. Further clarification of what constitutes ‘competent’ and

‘resourceful’ would further aid our understanding of this role. It was interesting that siblings successfully undertook this role and were accepted in this role.

Furthermore, the findings of this research suggest that when individuals perceive themselves to be disadvantaged by a situation and perceive that others have benefited from the same situation they will view the other negatively, this is particularly true if feelings are acted out in a climate of suspicion and a blame culture, this could be clearly seen in the case of the conflict which existed between those who were evacuated and those who were occupied.

History, the media and the need to justify war helps to perpetuate the divisions between groups. Our ability to imagine life as our adversaries experience it, to feel empathy and criticise our own behaviour has been impeded by an almost reductionist approach. However the findings of this research suggest that once people work through conflict and learn to acknowledge the best and worst of both sides of the argument and cease to rely on generalised stereotypes then resistance can be reduced resulting in greater opportunities to change attitudes, transform images and co-exist and it is my belief based on the findings of this research that this was what happened in Guernsey between 1940 and 1945.

Many war stories have never been told, often because no one was prepared to hear them, hence an important part of history remains unrecorded. There is a tendency to emphasise the point of “let sleeping dogs lie” or avoid exacerbating the situation by repeatedly picking at it. However, past experiences do not fade with time (Hunt 1997; Coleman 1999). Psychological restoration relies on the healing process of allowing survivors to be heard and re-experience their experiences in a safe

environment. There are many benefits to story telling: it connects us with others, renders life memorable and invests a life with meaning. It provides for a view of self identity and ones history and it helps the individual to work out their role in modern life. The evacuation and occupation story was not purely a reflection of the past but has and continues to shape the present and the stories that have been told in this research have not only been influenced by society but in their turn will influence society and how history is recorded and perceived. There is little doubt that social change has led to a reconstruction of the past. The pre war collectivist society has been replaced with a more individualistic society and changes in the economy and the unique relationship Guernsey has with the European community have led to a need to build harmonious relationships with Europe. The context of the time the experience takes place is important for the narrating of experience but so is the context of the time the story is told. Stories have a strong relationship with the past and the present. Two different stories existed in this research, one for the evacuated and one for the occupied. At the root of the evacuated story are the concepts of freedom, independence, opportunities and resilience. At the root of the occupied stories are the concepts of hardship, empathy and resignation. It was interesting to discover that both groups, the evacuated and the occupied, reported being pleased that they had had the opportunity to live through this period of history, however, many said they would not wish to relive the experience. For the minority of interviewees the experience was to prove debilitating and continues to have some negative effects on their lives, for the majority the experience proved cathartic.

Clearly the narratives presented in this thesis are open to a variety of interpretations based on gender, age, family background, education and life experience differences, however, by enabling stories to be told one can provide the individual's experience

with a context of meaning. By gathering data for individual experiences one can build up a collective story that can be acknowledged allowing the individual to reclaim their past. Finally it is important to remember that whilst individuals have a beginning and an end history is infinite. Society is continually evolving, societies expectations are changing, as are politics and the economy and clearly these are likely to structure and shape the results of present and future research in this area.

Appendix A

Profiles of Interviewees

Interview – Amy

Born 1934

Occupied

Lived with father, uncle and grandparents

Sibling and stepmother evacuated

Religion important

Difficult family relationships after war

Married

Three children

Happy life

Interview – Arthur

Born 1932

Occupied

Lived with parents

Sister evacuated

Difficult relationship with sister after war

Married

Stepchildren

Interview – Betty

Born 1925

Evacuated

Lived with sister, aunt, uncle and cousins

Religion important

Evacuation – adventure

Good education

Career

Single

Interview – Bill

Born 1935

Evacuated

Lived with parents/sister and grandparents

Good education

Evacuation – positive experience

Married

Two children

Interview – Connie

Born 1930

Evacuated

Lived with mother, sister and nephew

Regrets loss of friendships

Education suffered

Married

Three children

Interview – Doris

Born 1932

Occupied

Lived with parents

No relationship between parents and Germans

Found life difficult after war

Religion important

Good health

Single

Interview – Cyril

Born 1933

Evacuated with brother

Evacuation – adventure

Fostered until parents arrived in UK and when passed 11+

Unhappy at school

Mother seriously ill and not seen for one year

Married/divorced

Two children

Alcoholic/ Depression/ Cancer

Interview – Don

Born 1933

Evacuated

Lived with elderly aunt and siblings then boarding school

Good education

Religion important

Career

Poor relationships with parents and siblings after war

Interview – Edward

Born 1931

Occupied

Lived with parents and siblings

Unhappy during occupation and after it

Had relationships with Germans

Education suffered

Married

Children

Interview – Fred

Born 1936

Occupied

Lived with mother and two sisters

Third sister evacuated

Mother worked for Germans to steal from them

Difficult relationship with evacuated sister after war

Evacuated sister in psychiatric unit for most of her life after war

Married/divorced/married

Two children

Angina/diabetes/arthritis

Interview – Edith

Born 1935

Evacuated with mother and sister

Father occupied

Life difficult after war

Difficult relationship with father

Good education

Married

Two step- children

Stroke

Interview – Harry

Born 1936

Evacuated with mother and two sisters

Third sister lived with grandparents, brother lived with aunt

Placed in children's home with sisters who were adopted

Relationship with adopted sisters not other siblings

Married

Child

Interview – Freda

Born 1928

Evacuated with one of five sisters

Parents later evacuated but only lived with them temporarily

Fostered without siblings

Abused in foster care

Religion important

Strained relationship with siblings after war

Career

Single

Cardiac problems

Interview – Gwen

Born 1929

Occupied

Lived with parents and siblings

Education suffered

Relationships with Germans

Married

Three children

Depression

Interview – Hilda

Born 1942

Evacuated with two sisters

Brother occupied with parents

Evacuation –traumatic

Lived with one sister, aunt and uncle

Relationships with siblings she was separated from were poor after war

Difficult relationship with mother after war and father died shortly after she returned to Island

Married

Child

Chronic depression , hospitalised

Interview – Ingrid

Born 1937

Evacuated with mother and brother

Father occupied

Happy in UK

Difficult relationship with father after war

Married/divorced/remarried

Four children

Anxiety, psychiatric treatment

Interview – George

Born 1934

Occupied

Lived with parents and sister

Hated and still hates Germans

Extended family close before war not after it

Lost home to Germans

Married/divorced/remarried

Two children, one step child

Interview – Joan

Born 1928

Evacuated with sister , lived with step aunt – unhappy, then with aunt – happy

Parents occupied

Life difficult after war

Married/widowed/married/ widowed

Two children

Interview – Harry

Born 1931

Occupied

Lived with parents and sibling

Education disrupted

Ordinary German soldiers viewed positively

Career

Married

Two children

Cardiac problems

Interview – Kay

Born 1934

Evacuated with mother and sister

Lived with relatives

Father escaped the Island after the occupation started

Evacuation an adventure

Religion important

Career

Married

Two children, one step child

Interview – Linda

Born 1934

Evacuated

Large family, some evacuated, some occupied

Had several foster parents some happy some unhappy

Life difficult after the war

Poor relationships with parents and siblings

Married

Three children

Cancer, motor neurone disease (Deceased 2004)

Interview – Maureen

Born 1932

Evacuated with mother and siblings later separated from siblings

Father in forces

After war good relationship with mother, poor with siblings and father

Underachieved

Married

Chronic depression. Psychiatric treatment.

Interview – Nora

Born 1940

Occupied

Lived with both parents

No relationship with Germans but family friends did have

Found life difficult after the war

Missed out on something

Married

Child

Interview – Olive

Born 1923

Occupied

Lived with both parents

Good relationship with parents

Worked as assistant teacher

Germans kind to children

Religion important

Occupation – positive experience

Single

Interview – Queenie

Born 1925

Evacuated

Parents divorced – lived with mother and four siblings

One sibling lived with aunt

Religion important

Life difficult after war

Married

One deceased child

Ill health

Interview – Ruth

Born 1929

Evacuated with mother and siblings

Father occupied

Evacuation – adventure

Religion important

Life difficult after war

Missed out

Married

Children

Interview – Sybil

Born 1935

Evacuated with mother

Father occupied

Siblings fostered

Evacuation – positive

Religion important

Life difficult after war

Poor relationship with father

Married

Three children

Interview – Ivor

Born 1927

Evacuated with school and fostered

Did not see siblings for five years

Parents deceased by 1945

Evacuation – positive but harsh

Poor relationship with siblings

Married

Three children

Psychiatric treatment

Interview – John

Born 1931

Evacuated with parents

Evacuation – adventure

Married

Two children

Interview - Theresa

Born 1930

Evacuated with school

Temporary separation from mother and brother

Father occupied

Evacuation – positive

Life after war difficult

Underachieved

Married

Two children

Interview – Ursula

Born 1931

Evacuated and fostered

Parents and siblings occupied

Life difficult during and after war

Poor relationship with parents and siblings after war

Married

Child

Psychiatric treatment

Interview – Vera

Born 1935

Evacuated with mother and sisters

Brother evacuated with school

Father in Forces

Evacuation – traumatic

Difficult relationship with father after war

Married

Widowed

Two children (one deceased)

“Anxious”

Interview – Ken

Born 1931

Evacuated with school

Fostered for three months

Parents evacuated later

Lived with parents and two of twelve siblings (older ones had left home)

Evacuation – adventure

Good relationships with parents and siblings

Married

Children

Interview – Wanda

Born – unknown

Evacuated with children's home

Eighteen siblings never lived together

Close to siblings in home but not others

Difficult relationship with parents

Married/divorced/remarried

Three children

Psychiatric treatment

Interview – Yvonne

Born 1929

Occupied with mother and two siblings

Other siblings evacuated

Poor relationship with evacuated siblings

Religion important

Relationships with Germans

Poor relationship with father after war

Interview – Alice

Born 1927

Evacuated

Numerous foster parents

Mother, stepfather and two siblings occupied

Poor relationships with parents and siblings after war

Life difficult after war

Religion important

Married

Children

Interview – Len

Born 1936

Evacuated with parents

Evacuation- adventure

Married

Children

Interview – Brenda

Born – unknown

Occupied with parents and some siblings

Most of seventeen siblings evacuated

Poor relationship with evacuated siblings after war

Married twice, divorced twice

Religion important now

Children

Chronic depression, hospitalised

Interview – Martin

Born 1931

Evacuated with mother and half brother

Placed in care in UK by mother

Fostered and children's homes in UK

Poor relationship with mother and step father

No relationship with half brother

Married/ divorced

Children

Religion now important

Feels let down

Psychiatric treatment

Interview – Catherine

Born 1929

Lived with mother and siblings before war

Evacuated with school, temporarily fostered (happy)

Lived with aunt and uncle in UK

Evacuation – positive but traumatic

Good relationship with mother and siblings

Married

Children



Psychiatric treatment

Appendix B

Timeline



TIME LINE

1939	1 st Sept	German troops invade Poland
	3 rd Sept	Britain & France, who have both signed mutual protection pacts with Poland declare war on Germany
	17 th Sept	Russia invades Poland
1940	10 th May	German troops cross border into Belgium & Holland
	14 th May	Holland surrenders
	28 th May	Belgium surrenders
	30 th May	Evacuation of British forces from Dunkirk begins
	4 th June	Evacuation of Dunkirk is complete
	14 th June	Paris Falls
	15 th June	British Chiefs of Staff decide the Islands can not be defended and order the withdrawal of all military forces. Germans not informed.
	19 th June	Plans for the evacuation of Guernsey school children and men of military age
	28 th June	St Peter Port harbour is attacked by Heinkel III bombers 180 bombs are dropped on tomato lorries 22 Islanders are killed 33 wounded
	30 th June	A lone German aircraft lands in Guernsey. Other aircraft follow. The Occupation has begun
	1 st July	German Commandant's orders to Islanders are published in GEP

1941

14th Nov

Controlling Committee sampled bread
Made from wheat flour mixed with 50%
Potato flour or 50% potato mash. The
Latter was preferred.

All radio sets owned by Islanders are
confiscated by the Germans

Hubert Nicolle & James Symes
(British Officers) land on an espionage
mission

Ambrose Sherwill is sacked by the
Germans for sheltering Nicolle &
Symes.

First food consignments from France
Arrives – flour, eggs, cheese, onions

Potatoes & tomatoes were shipped to
France in exchange.

17th Feb

Bread rationing begins

Red Cross announces that 1550
messages arrived for Islanders from
relatives in the UK

4th June

Hitler issues his first order for the
fortification of the Islands. Thousands
of tons of concrete arrive in the Island
Guernsey becomes one of the most
fortified places on earth.



7th Aug

A photographic census of all Islanders
prior to issuing ID cards is complete.

7th Aug

21884 people were photographed

winter

Food runs short. Fighting over root
vegetables. Very few potatoes.

Meat rationed to 12ozs a head per wk

1942

17th June

Wireless sets which were originally
confiscated in Nov 1941 & later
returned were finally confiscated
for good.

1st July

Cameras are confiscated

16th Sept

The deportation to Germany of all non

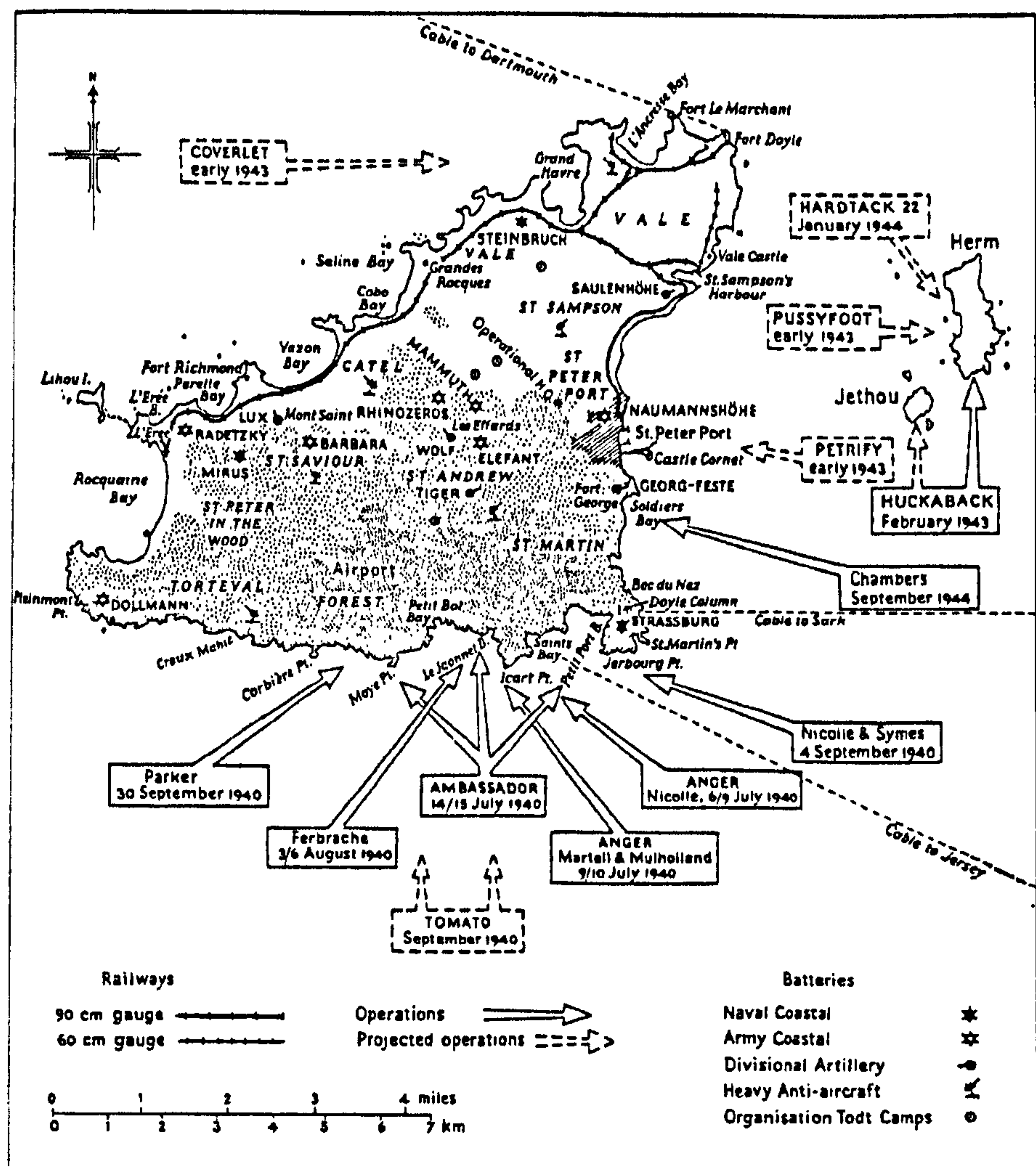
Guernsey born residents is ordered

1943	18 th Nov	19 British soldiers buried after the sinking of HMS Charybidis. Thousands of Islanders turn out to demonstrate loyalty to the Crown
1944	6 th June	D-Day. Allied armies invade France Islands are now cut off from essential supplies due to the invasion
	27 th Dec	Red Cross ship Vega arrives in St Peter Port with essential supplies
	30 th Dec	Food parcels are distributed to civilians only
1945	6 th Jan	Soap, salt, cigarettes and treats distributed Bread ration reduced to 1lb with none at all most weeks Meat rationed to 1oz per week
	28 th April	Mussalini is shot by Italian partisans
	30 th April	Hitler kills his wife Eva Braun & himself
	8 th May	Germany surrenders
	9 th May	Guernsey is liberated



Appendix C

**Map Depicting Sites of Todt Camps; Operations; Railways, Artillery
and Batteries**



Guernsey, Herm, and Jethou

Map Depicting Sites of Todt Camps; Operations; Railways, Artillery and Batteries

Appendix D

Copyright Form

Clearance and Copyright Form

The purpose of this form is to ensure that your contribution to the research carried out by Corral Smith is archived in accordance with your wishes. All material will be preserved as a record to be used as a reference resource for use in research, education, publication and lectures etc. Your name will not be attached to your contribution and for the purposes of the research carried out by Corral Smith you will remain anonymous. Should a book be produced in the future by Corral Smith you will be given the opportunity to include your name should you wish to do so, otherwise your contribution will remain anonymous.

I hereby assign the copyright in my contribution to Corral Smith

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Appendix E

Table of Employment Sectors for 1930

**Table of Employment Sectors based on Island Census 1931 for all Occupations
of Males and Females aged 14 years and Over.**

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
Fishing	166	-	166
Agriculture and horticulture	5388	236	5624
Mining and quarrying	347	2	349
Makers of bricks/ pottery and glass	11	-	11
Chemicals processes, paints and oils	4	2	6
Metal workers	571	1	572
Precious metals and electroplate	7	1	8
Electrical apparatus makers and fitters	102	-	102
Watch makers	18	1	19
Skins & leathers	10	-	10
Textiles	6	1	7
Makers of textile goods	132	257	389
Makers of food, drink and tobacco	232	22	254
Wood and furniture	770	17	787
Workers in paper and cardboard	9	30	39
Printers and photographers	118	21	139
Builders, stone and slate workers	684	2	686
Painters and decorators	234	2	236
Workers in rubber	4	-	4
Workers in mixed and unidentified materials	25	1	26
Transport and communication	1550	82	1632
Commercial, finance and insurance	1286	739	2025
Public administration and defence	104	1	105
Professional occupations excluding clerical staff e.g. clergymen, teachers, undertakers	355	464	819
Entertainment and sport	45	11	56
Personal Service (cleaners/hotel workers/ domestic servants/laundry/ hairdressers/ etc)	423	2275	2698
Clerks, draughtsman and typists	422	256	678
Warehouses, storekeepers and packers	75	46	121
Stationary engine drivers	12	-	12
Others	902	45	947
Retired or not gainfully employed	1479	12620	14099

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